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ABSTRACT

"Political correctness" has recently been appropriated by organizations and individual advocates seeking to attack and focus negative media attention on reforms in higher education. This report documents both the facts and media distortions that have shaped almost a decade of campus debate on affirmative action, multicultural and feminist curriculum reform, and programs to diversify college campuses. The report also highlights the conditions that have given rise to an unrivaled backlash in academia. Topics addressed include media coverage of political correctness, conservative activism in higher education, liberal responses to the backlash, funding patterns, and campus violence/campus climate issues. Appendices include a chronological list of media coverage that addressed political correctness issues between 1989 and 1993, a list of activist networks of student newspapers on campuses, statistics concerning people of color and women in higher education, the addresses and phone numbers of National Council for Research on Women Member Centers throughout the country, and a list of selected guides and resources concerning integrating women of color into the curriculum. (GLR)

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To Reclaim a Legacy of Diversity:
Analyzing The "Political Correctness" Debates In Higher Education

A publication of the National Council for Research on Women

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Preface

This report and resource guide is the product of the National Council for Research on Women's *Reclaiming Diversity in the Curriculum* project, part of an ongoing effort to broaden the sources of information and expand the networks of practitioners engaged in women's studies and feminist research. The *Reclaiming Diversity* project serves as a complement to the Council-coordinated *Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies* program, which since 1989 has enabled thirteen model projects to incorporate research and teaching about women of color into undergraduate liberal arts curricula.

Noting escalating distortions in the "political correctness" debates in the media—and hearing concerns expressed by those involved in mainstreaming minority women's studies projects and other Council member-center projects located on college and university campuses—the Council decided to investigate the "p.c." phenomenon and explore ways to disseminate factual, more accurate information about related issues. Generous support from the Ford Foundation in the fall of 1991 enabled NCRW staff to delve into the genesis and development of the debates and to invite the participation of a distinguished advisory committee to help shape accurate assessments of these debates.

The Council would like to thank Debra L. Schultz, who coordinated the project and wrote the final draft of this report; Margaret Rheingold, who compiled background information and drafted sections of the first version of the report; Susan Hallgarth, who made significant editorial contributions; Deborah Siegel, who patiently filled gaps in information; Mariam Chamberlain, who shared her experience and files to help put the project in historical context; Leslie Hill and Liza Fiol-Matta, whose work with Mariam Chamberlain on the Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies program laid the groundwork for this project; and NCRW staff members Paulette Tulloch and Dawn Henry for their ongoing support of the project.

NCRW is particularly grateful to the project's external advisory committee, ably chaired by Catharine R. Stimpson, University Professor, Rutgers University. For giving generously of their time and sharing their expertise individually and collectively with staff members, the Council would also like to thank:

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The National Council for Research on Women is fortunate to have among its 75 member centers organizations around the country that include campus-based centers, independent policy centers, foundations, and national membership organizations. Since organizing in 1981 with 28 centers, the Council has grown into a major national coalition and clearinghouse. It is our member centers, listed as Appendix F in this report, that ultimately make possible important collaborative work like the *Reclaiming Diversity in the Curriculum* project.

To lay the groundwork for equity in the 21st century, we must provide educators, media, policy makers, and the general public with more accurate information and better understanding of the historic and systemic roots of inequity and prejudice. We have seen what happens in countries where ancient ethnic rivalries tear apart the fabric of their societies. To assure that such bitter, violent conflicts occur less frequently in a more civilized "new world order," U.S. citizens must name and affirm the values that shape our common traditions, including respect for the values and differences of all ethnic, racial, and national heritages represented in our society.

The National Council for Research on Women facilitates the exchange of sophisticated, current information about the broadest possible range of scholarship, policy, and practice affecting understanding of these important concerns. We are pleased to offer you *To Reclaim a Legacy of Diversity: Analyzing the "Political Correctness" Debates in Higher Education.* Please contact the Council with any additional information and suggestions.

Mary Ellen S. Capek
Executive Director
National Council for Research on Women

Executive Summary

To Reclaim a Legacy of Diversity

Contention over multiculturalism, ethnic studies, women's studies, curriculum revision, and efforts to improve tolerance for difference on campus reached a crescendo in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the "p.c." debates. Originally a humorous, self-critical term among leftist activists, "political correctness," or "p.c.," has recently been appropriated by organizations and individual advocates seeking to attack and focus negative media attention on reforms in higher education.

Exploiting national concern over the efficacy of our educational system, opponents of change have used carefully-orchestrated media outreach to relabel "p.c." as a "liberal conspiracy" to stifle academic freedom and subvert so-called "traditional" standards of merit. These critics charge that campus codes against racial and sexual harassment suppress free speech; that women's studies and ethnic studies are replacing the classics of Western civilization in newly-required multicultural core curricula; that conservative faculty members and students have been persecuted for their beliefs; and that cultural relativism has destroyed the capacities of liberal faculty and students for moral reasoning.

The virulence of these accusations—for example, that advocates of change represent "the new intolerance" or "the new McCarthyism"—is significantly out of proportion to actual or proposed changes on campuses across the country. Such disproportionate anger signals a backlash in which major issues are at stake. Indeed, some would say the accusations highlight fundamental conflicts over religious and cultural values in United States society.

Placed in historical perspective, these charges—as well as the strategy of attacking "p.c" to heighten media attention—currently represent the most visible form of resistance to a process of institutional change that began in the United States in the late 1960s, when, in response to the civil rights movement, colleges and universities, directed by law, began to grant access to more diverse populations.

At the same time that affirmative action programs increased access to higher education and opened more faculty and administrative positions to minorities and women on campuses across the country, emerging programs in ethnic studies and women's studies produced a body of knowledge about these areas and focused new attention on intellectual issues related to dominance and difference. Founded in the late 1960s, ethnic studies and women's studies served as one response to student demands for relevance, challenging the reputed objectivity of scholarship in traditional disciplines and calling for active links among theory, practice, and social change. Advocates of curriculum transformation believe, in the words of philosopher Elizabeth Minnich, that "the reasons why it was considered right and proper to exclude the majority of humankind were and are built into the very foundations of what was established as knowledge" (Minnich 1990: 32).

Overcoming the skepticism and hostility of traditionalists, advocates of ethnic studies and women's studies pursued recognition of these new fields through normal academic channels. It is clear that women's studies and ethnic studies have had significant impact on higher education in the United States. By 1992, programs and departments in ethnic studies—including African American, Asian and Asian-Pacific American, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Hispanic American studies—numbered approximately 700. Women's studies programs totaled 621 (Butler and Schmitz 1992: 38). Both fields

have produced a new generation of scholars whose work is supported by fellowships, research centers, journals, presses, and professional organizations (Bass 1978; Chamberlain and Bernstein 1992). According to curriculum transformation specialist Betty Schmitz, between 1975 and 1985, ethnic studies and women's studies prompted more than 150 major curriculum integration, mainstreaming, and transformation projects, including collaborative projects between United States ethnic studies, women's studies, and Third World studies (Schmitz 1992: 3).

Placing the "p.c." debates in this broad social context, *To Reclaim A Legacy of Diversity* documents the backlash against higher education reform, describes the actual situation on college campuses today, and guides those interested to additional sources of information. Topics addressed include media coverage of political correctness; conservative activism in higher education; liberal responses to the backlash; funding patterns; and campus violence/campus climate issues. A bibliography and appendices provide resources for responding to the backlash and for learning more about women's studies; ethnic studies; curriculum revision; representation of women and minorities as faculty, administrators, staff, and students; and other change efforts in higher education.

Political Correctness Defined

Critics of multiculturalism and other educational reforms who enjoyed high profiles in the late 1980s were part of well-funded, well-coordinated efforts to focus the national political agenda on issues of culture, especially education and the arts. Flourishing in the conservative ideological atmosphere of the Reagan and Bush administrations, a network of foundations, think-tanks, activist organizations, and key government officials attempted to sound an alarm about what they saw as negative changes in higher education (Bellant 1991; Lazere 1992). The key strategy they used to give their campaign momentum was a calculated attack on "political correctness."

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the New Left, feminists, and progressives had used the term "politically correct" ironically, as a guard against their own orthodoxy in social change efforts (Perry 1992: 16). Noting appropriation of the term by right-wing activists and the popular press in the late 1980s, Ruth Perry of the Women's Studies program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology commented that "insofar as the accusation of 'political correctness' restrains or embarrasses anyone inclined to point out [social inequities]...the phrase is now successfully forestalling discussion of everything it ever stood for" (Perry 1992: 16).

At the very least, the ambiguity of the term "political correctness" as adapted by opponents of change in higher education fostered confusion and inhibited reasoned discussion. Under the catch-all of "p.c.," critics attacked multiculturalism, women's studies, ethnic studies, curriculum reform, affirmative action, and other efforts to create inclusive campus climates. Critics rarely distinguished among these very different initiatives, each with its own history and goals, so that in the public mind, "p.c." became synonymous with attempts to dictate behavior and stifle free speech in order to dilute what were described as "traditional" standards of academic merit and objectivity.

Like the myth that scholarship can be totally objective and value-free, there is also a myth that the academy can remain untouched by the politics of the larger society. Public perceptions of "political correctness" obscured connections between scholars attacking "p.c." and right-wing foundations, think-tanks and government officials. This report attempts to round out the picture by recognizing that all parties involved in the "p.c. debates" have political points of view. Further, by providing a detailed portrait of the differential financial and institutional resources available to those engaged in the debates, this report challenges a superficial view of the "p.c." debates as purely academic. The rhetoric of "p.c." represents a struggle to define "American values" and merits serious attention by concerned citizens.

Media Coverage

In 1984, William Bennett, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities appointed by Ronald Reagan, articulated the framework for what would become the "p.c." debates. Defending the canon in *To Reclaim A Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education*, Bennett claimed that curriculum reformers in higher education were denying students a timeless legacy by replacing "classic texts" of Western civilization with works of lesser

quality and significance. Bennett charged that sixties reformers, now entrenched as university professors, were threatening a precious American heritage in the name of a more inclusive curriculum.

The 1986 publication of the late Allan Bloom's bestseller, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*, popularized the conservative attack on higher education. Bloom's book was quickly followed by Charles J. Syke's *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education* (1988), and Roger Kimball's *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Corrupted Our Higher Education* (1990), among others. Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Class on Campus* (1991), which he described as a critique of the "rhetorical excesses and coercive tactics of the Politically Correct," helped revive the degree of controversy originally generated by Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind*.

Sparked by these works, print media coverage of debates over "political correctness" on campus exploded in the late 1980s (Radin 1990; Lazere 1992; Whitney and Wartella 1992). Coverage began with a slow but steady increase of articles from 1988 to 1990 and increased significantly in 1991. In 1988, 101 articles appeared; in 1989, 306 articles, and in 1990, 656 articles were published in over 493 general interest magazines and newspapers. But 1991 marked a significant turning point: 3,989 articles appeared, an increase of 600 percent over the previous year (Whitney and Wartella 1992: 87).

The chronology of media accounts in Appendix A illustrates the snowball effect, as sensationalized "p.c." accounts appeared on the front pages of high-circulation newspapers and news magazines from late 1990 through spring 1991. Early articles in publications with significant impact on public opinion included "The Rising Hegemony of the Politically Correct," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1990; "The Storm Over the University," The *New York Review of Books*, December 6, 1990; "The Academy's New Ayatollahs," *U.S. News and World Report*, December 19, 1990; "Taking Offense," *Newsweek*, December 24, 1990; "Are You Politically Correct?," *New York*, January, 21, 1991; *The New Republic* special issue on "political correctness" and multiculturalism, February 18, 1991; "PC Does It," The *Village Voice*, March 12, 1991; "High Noon at the PC Corral," *The New York Times*, Op-Ed, March 20, 1991; "Illiberal Education," *The Atlantic*, March 1991; and "Upside Down in the Groves of Academe," *Time*, April 1, 1991.

One of the most noticeable common denominators in these articles was their reliance — apparently unchallenged by first-hand reporting or by other journalists — on a relatively small number of campus incidents, often the same few, to bolster the case for an alleged epidemic of suppression. As "political correctness" coverage moved through the media during 1991, journalists most often cited variations of the same incidents. These included the six conflicts examined by Dinesh D'Souza — over minority admissions at the University of California at Berkeley; revision of a required core Western civilization course at Stanford University; racial incidents and a racial harassment code at the University of Michigan; charges of racial insensitivity by Professor Stephen Thernstrom of Harvard University; calls for more African and African-American centered curricula at Howard University; and the

hiring of avant-garde literary theorists at Duke University. Journalists' repeated references to the same controversies — most occurring at a few high-profile institutions — created the false impression that most of the nation's 3,500 colleges and universities were engulfed in the "p.c." debates and experiencing conflict over diversity in exactly the same way.

While it is difficult to quantify the actual scope of campus conflict over "political correctness," the section on intolerance and diversity issues in the American Council on Education's (ACE) 1991 *Campus Trends* suggests some parameters. According to ACE's 1991 survey, only three percent of the nation's higher education institutions reported controversies over course texts, and only four percent reported controversy over information presented in the classroom. Reported controversies over the political or cultural content of remarks by invited speakers occurred at only ten percent of all institutions and 20 percent of the nation's doctoral institutions (El-Khawas 1991).

In contrast — reflecting one of the more disturbing aspects of the campus controversies often ignored or underreported by journalists — 36 percent of all institutions and 74 percent of doctoral institutions reported incidents of intolerance related to race, gender, or sexual preference (El-Khawas 1991). These statistics suggest that the locus of intolerance is in fact less in the classrooms of liberal professors than in social interactions among students on campus, where many students confront difference and diversity in their social environment for the first time in their lives.

Among other causes of tension on campus that led to increasing incidents of violence and intolerance in the 1980s were cutbacks in higher education and financial aid; a national climate that legitimated racism; increasing alcohol use by students; and the hyper-masculine culture of sports and fraternities, two common sites of violent incidents (Martinez 1992; Erlich 1990).

Skimming over these other social and economic causes of tensions on campus, most of the mainstream press failed to investigate the charges of "political correctness" in any depth. In an article on "PC and the Press" for *Change*, the magazine of the American Association for Higher Education, Huntly Collins, higher education reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, suggests several explanations for this lapse among reporters, including the complexity of the "p.c." phenomenon itself. Because most reporters did not distinguish among the issues entwined under the "p.c." label — such as affirmative action, free speech and student codes, curriculum reform, and new fields of scholarship — they did not investigate them separately. Collins attributes this failure to the dearth of qualified higher education reporters (only 13 of the 369 members of the Education Writers Association identify themselves as higher education writers). She also cites a long tradition of anti-intellectualism in the press, which he claims leads reporters to dismiss subjects they do not have the time to understand (Collins 1992).

At a time of declining readership, Collins also notes, "the PC conspiracy provided an irresistible opportunity [for the print media] to attract more readers with sensationalized headlines, graphics, and stories that play on the deepest fears of white, middle-class Americans — the very segment of the population that newspapers and magazines must attract if they are to remain economically viable" (Collins, 1992: 16).

Conservative Attacks Against Change in Higher Education

Even accounting for such unchallenged media sensationalizing and distortion, the question remains how and why the "political correctness" debates caught on so readily and remained in the public consciousness so long. The "p.c." backlash — which plays on genuine national concern over coherent educational outcomes and student fears about access to financial aid and career opportunities — must be placed in the context of shifting demographics and general fear over dwindling resources, and in specific relation to increased representation of women and people of color as students, faculty, staff, and subjects of inquiry in the academy.

The often virulent language of the original books by Bloom, D'Souza, and others and the media coverage that followed suggests more was at stake than preservation of the curriculum. As those authors rightly perceive, the definition of what it means to be an American is in a state of flux. *Workforce 2000*, the Hudson Institute's widely-publicized 1987 study for the United States Department of Labor, reports that 85 percent of new entrants to the workforce in the next century will be women, minorities, and immigrants. Fewer than 16 percent of new entrants into the workforce will be white males. To ensure United States competitiveness in an increasingly competitive global market, these new workers must be well-educated and well-trained. Thus, the "canon wars" over the curriculum mirror a real challenge by women, minorities, and new immigrants for increased economic opportunity through greater access to higher education.

In what many commentators have characterized as an ideological war of values, defenders of the status quo apparently targeted two institutions that have transformative power over ideas in society — the media and higher education — to wage their battle through the "p.c." debates. According to Huntly Collins, the *Boston Globe* was one of the few newspapers to challenge "distortion of the PC issue" from the start (Collins 1992: 16). In his *Boston Globe* article, "Conservatives Send Their Agenda to College," Charles Radin noted that "the movement is not covert. Its weapons are books, newspapers, and professorships sponsored by conservative foundations that generally publish detailed lists of their grants and readily acknowledge their goal: to change students' and intellectuals' views on issues of race and gender" (Radin 1990).

Radin interviewed Jean Hardisty, director of Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which conducts research on right-wing movements. "The right has a two-step strategy on campus," commented Hardisty. "First, [they] bring into question the way universities are run [and] portray tolerance as a code word for preferential treatment. Second, [they] bring in the other message — antigovernment, pro-free enterprise, individualistic, vehemently anti-left" (Radin 1990). As an example of this strategy, Radin cited remarks by James Pierson, executive director of the Olin Foundation, a major funding source for conservative intellectuals, who charged, "The things that happened in academia in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s led to dangerous politicization that is inimicable to what colleges and universities should be doing. This is an attack on the very idea of meritocracy, objectivity, and neutral principles" (Radin 1990). When conservatives strategically cast proponents of what they called "p.c." as "liberal" academics threatening to abolish cherished American values, they attracted a range of thoughtful, less-ideological supporters genuinely concerned about educational outcomes.

Activism in Higher Education

In the mid-1980s, conservative foundations, think-tanks, organizations, and high-profile spokespersons began to intensify and focus what they characterized as the left's "politicization" of the academy. Although organized efforts in the late 1970s by such groups as Concerned Alumni of Princeton (publishers of *Prospect* magazine, edited in the mid-1980s by Dinesh D'Souza) began to develop anti-left arguments that would become the core of the "p.c." backlash, Accuracy in Academia (AIA), founded by Reed Irvine in 1985 to "promote greater accuracy and balance in instruction in college level institutions" (Jones 1985), actively publicized the idea that leftist professors had "taken over" United States colleges and universities. An October 1985 *New York Times* article reported that AIA targeted and publicly attacked individual professors and quoted AIA sources that claimed to have recruited hundreds of student "monitors" on campus to report "leftist bias" (Jones 1985). In a 1986 *Commentary* article, Stephen Balch and Herbert London — two future founders of the activist organization, the National Association of Scholars — carried forward the theme of a takeover of the academy by "The Tenured Left" (Balch and London 1986).

Writing at the height of the furor over "p.c." in 1991, John Thelin noted that "during the past two years, the indictments of political correctness abuses usually refer to the neo-conservative claims that they have been bullied from the left. What tends to be forgotten... is that, in the early and mid 1980s, it was the 'renegade right' that sent designated note-takers into lecture halls, and published newspapers and magazines that were polemical and baiting — all under the guise of academic freedom and intellectual debate" (Thelin 1992: 22).

Most discussions of "political correctness" in the late 1980s and early 1990s failed to make connections between these earlier attacks on the professoriate and the "p.c." debates. Nor was there thorough investigation of an increasing body of evidence suggesting that the attacks emanated from well-funded, well-coordinated networks. These networks include foundations established with multi-million dollar family-business fortunes and the think-tanks they fund (including the Heritage Foundation, the Hudson Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, the Hoover Institute, and the Manhattan Institute). Mainstream media also failed to analyze the means by which these foundations and think-tanks develop and promote ideas — through programs like the Collegiate Network of 61 conservative student newspapers coordinated by the Madison Center for Educational Affairs and fellowships and residencies for scholar/activists who share their views, views that were further publicized by government officials following the lead of Secretary of Education William Bennett during the Reagan and Bush administrations (Thelin 1992: 21).

Among the primary sources of funding for networks of conservative student newspapers, internship programs, fellowships, think-tanks, and organizations are the John M. Olin Foundation, the Coors Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Smith-Richardson Foundation, and the Sarah Scaife Foundation (Bellant 1991). The John M. Olin Foundation, alone, for example, directly or indirectly funded the Institute for Educational Affairs, Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*, Roger Kimball's *Tenured Radicals*, Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*, and the National Association of Scholars (Lazere 1992). As American University law professor Mark Hager notes, throughout the 1970s and 1980s,

> ...right-leaning think-tanks grew to unprecedented size, wealth, power, and influence. This trend was especially sharp during the 1980s, when several right-wing policy institutes forged strong links with both the Reagan-Bush administration and with rich corporate and family-sponsored funding foundations. At the onset of the 1990s, this increasingly tight-knit network expanded its reach even further through an array of institutional links with right-wing organizations on campus.

As Hager goes on to assert, "nothing on the campus left remotely matches the resources, access, visibility, and influence of this right-wing ideological network" (Hager 1992: 58). It is beyond the scope of this report to trace interconnections among foundations, think-tanks and spokespersons in this network, but descriptions of three representative resources and constituencies suggest common roots and links among efforts in the late 1980s and early 1990s to influence public opinion and institutionalize their views through the "p.c." debates.

Conservative Think-Tanks: The Madison Center for Educational Affairs

Founded by former Treasury Secretary William Simon and Irving Kristol, now an Olin Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, the Institute for Educational Affairs merged in September 1990 with the Madison Center (founded by Kristol, Allan Bloom, and William Bennett) to become the Madison Center for Education Affairs (Madison Center 1990). According to the Madison Center's 1990 *Annual Report*, its funders included the John M. Olin Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the Adolph Coors Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, Inc., the Committee for the Free World, the Earhart Foundation, Dow Chemical Company, and individual donors, including Leslie Lenkowsky (Madison Center 1990: 17). Lenkowsky, a former director of the Institute for Educational Affairs and vice-chair of the Madison Center for Educational Affairs, is now President of the Hudson Institute. According to Sara Diamond, author of *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, Lenkowsky formerly served as acting director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and as research director of the Smith-Richardson Foundation, where, Diamond claims, he helped devise the rhetorical strategy for "stealing the high ground" of cultural debate from the left (Diamond 1991: 46), a strategy characteristic of the "p.c." debates.

The Madison Center coordinates the twelve-year old Collegiate Network, which gives grants and professional help to 61 student publications on 58 campuses (see Appendix B). These include the *Dartmouth Review*, the *Yale Political Monthly*, and the *Princeton Tory*, all of which, the Madison Center's 1990 Annual Report notes, "have waged battles at their own schools." These student papers, the Madison Center Report continues, "are often the only organized groups attempting to thwart the advance of those pushing a politically correct agenda" (Madison Center 1990: 5). In 1990, the Madison Center allocated its $1,162,367 budget as follows: 39 percent to fund the Collegiate Network and the editorial internship program; 23 percent for grants to scholars and journalists; 12 percent to its college guide; and 8 percent to the Philanthropic Roundtable, a consortium of conservative foundations (Goss 1992: 8).

In addition to providing operating subsidies, the Madison Center sponsors regional and national conferences for conservative student journalists and supports their work with *Start the Presses*, a guide to starting and maintaining conservative campus publications. Along with *Newslink*, the Network's monthly newsletter, these resources give student journalists story ideas and formal mentoring. Regarding its influence on the overall campus climate, the Madison Center applauds its own success:

> It is becoming increasingly difficult to graduate from a first-rate American university without having been exposed to conservative thought.... This is perhaps the greatest achievement of the Collegiate Network in 1990 (Madison Center 1990: 7).

The Madison Center's Editorial Internship Program places ten junior-year student writers in summer positions with government agencies, conservative think-tanks, and the national media. Past positions have included summer work in the Office of Vice President Dan Quayle, NBC News, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Department of Commerce, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. With its extensive connections and talent bank, the Madison Center continues to offer career assistance to its student writers after graduation (Madison Center 1990: 10).

The career of Dinesh D'Souza highlights the Madison Center's internship, training, and placement efforts. A native of India who came to the United States as a high school student in 1978, D'Souza attended Dartmouth College, where he edited the Collegiate Network's controversial *Dartmouth Review*. After graduating from Dartmouth in 1983, he edited *Prospect*, the magazine of the Concerned Alumni of Princeton, served as a domestic policy analyst in the Reagan administration, and, then, as a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, wrote *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*. In its 1990 *Annual Report*, the Madison Center describes itself as a sponsor of the book, which was made possible by a grant from the John M. Olin Foundation. The report notes proudly: "D'Souza, a former Collegiate Network editor, has been thrust to the forefront of the battle against radical orthodoxy" (Madison Center 1990: 14).

Conservative Minorities

As some of the response to Dinesh D'Souza and *Illiberal Education* suggests, minority spokespersons who criticize affirmative action and multicultural curriculum innovations gain significant rhetorical advantages because of their minority status. New initiatives by the Madison Center have sought to cultivate additional minority student voices and promote dissemination of their views. In July 1990, the Madison Center sponsored a Washington, DC Student Forum of twenty minority students who met with Judge Clarence Thomas (then a federal judge, now a Supreme Court Justice), former United Nations Ambassador Alan Keyes, and Linda Chavez, a Reagan appointee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, to discuss building a network of conservative minority student leaders.

In the fall of 1991, the Madison Center also launched a new national magazine called *Diversity and Dissent: A Critical Journal of Race and Culture*, written by young people of different racial backgrounds. According to an editorial in the first issue: "*Diversity and Dissent* will not hesitate to hand thoughtful criticism to those who deserve it." The editorial asserts, "This magazine is concerned first with truth, not with perceptions." Although the journal claims to publish new views of racial politics in the United States, the majority of its articles display qualities characteristic of D'Souza and established writers critical of "p.c.": a tone of moral certitude, unsubstantiated assertions, and over-stated headlines. The Fall 1992 cover, for example, features "How the Baby Boomers Ruined America," and the Winter 1992 cover features headlines like "Race, Genes, and Violence" and "Crime Without Punishment: How Criminals Are Getting Away with Murder."

Another source of conservative minority thought is the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, an African American public policy institute founded in 1978 and based in Washington, DC. Its quarterly journal, *The Lincoln Review*, describes the Institute as "a comprehensive research and education program [that] transmits pro-private enterprise views on vital public policy issues to policy makers at the local, state, and federal levels" (*Lincoln Review* 1991). Though education is not its primary focus, *The Lincoln Review* serves as a forum for Black critiques of higher education — for instance, an article entitled "The Economics and Politics of Black Studies" by Mwangi Kimenyi, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Connecticut (Kimenyi 1992: 19-23). Kimenyi's article is part of a forthcoming larger study, "Rent-Seeking in Academia: The Political Economy of Race and Gender Programs in American Universities," conducted with financial support from the Sarah Scaife Foundation and the Earhart Foundation.

A relatively small group of other minority thinkers opposed to affirmative action have played a role in "p.c." debates. These include Glenn Loury, Professor of Economics at Boston University, who is a board member of the National Association of Scholars, and Thomas Sowell, senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution.

Two books of personal testimony by African American men also helped popularize minority critiques of affirmative action: *The Content of Our Character* (1992) by Shelby Steele, San Jose State University and *Reflections of An Affirmative Action Baby* (1991) by Stephen Carter, Yale University.

Activist Organizations: The National Association of Scholars

Founded in 1987, the National Association of Scholars (NAS) has been one of the most visible players in the "political correctness" debates. NAS has gained visibility by attacking affirmative action and multiculturalism through links to issues of free speech and free inquiry on campus. Through a structure of interlocking faculty groups coordinated from a national office in Princeton, New Jersey, NAS in the fall of 1991 claimed over 2,500 members in 22 states (Magner 1991: A17). NAS publishes a journal, *Academic Questions*, which claims "to explore problems and trends relating to the quality of scholarship and teaching, the politi-

cization of academic life, and other curricular and educational matters." NAS also maintains a speakers' bureau, a faculty employment-search service, and a research center for the study of contemporary issues in higher education. The organization's stated goals are to "enhance the quality and content of the curriculum; maintain rigorous standards in research, teaching, and academic self-governance; and preserve academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas on and off the campus" (National Association of Scholars 1991).

Such goals have attracted to NAS membership those characterized by Jacob Weisburg of *The New Republic* as a range of social conservatives, neo-conservatives, libertarians, and a small number of liberals. However, NAS funding sources and conservative intellectual founders and members link the organization to conservative networks. Most of the organization's $500,000 annual budget comes from such conservative funders as Coors, John M. Olin, Smith-Richardson, Sarah Scaife, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundations (Weisberg in Aufderheide 1992: 81-87).

NAS founders Stephen Balch and Herbert London (editor of *Academic Questions*) co-authored the 1986 article on the takeover of universities by "The Tenured Left" (Balch and London 1986). London, dean of the Gallatin Division at New York University and a Hudson Institute fellow, has been a Conservative Party candidate for governor and mayor of New York. The nomination of Gallatin colleague, NAS vice-president, and adjunct associate professor Carol Iannone to the National Council on the Humanities generated controversy. When five major scholarly organizations — the Modern Language Association, the American Council of Learned Societies, the College Art Association, the American Studies Association, and the Organization of American Historians — objected to Iannone's nomination on the basis of academic qualifications, Iannone's defenders, who included representatives of NAS, along with NEH chair Lynne Cheney and Vice President Dan Quayle, called the organizations elitist and claimed their arguments were egregious examples of "political correctness" (Hammer 1991). Sidestepping the issue of qualifications, Iannone's defenders asserted that her nomination was controversial merely because in articles published in *Academic Questions* and *Commentary*, she had questioned the achievements of black and women writers and had alleged that "a group of black writers demanded and obtained the Pulitzer Prize" for Toni Morrison in 1988 (Masters 1991: D1). On July 17, 1991, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee voted not to recommend her confirmation (Novak 1991: 16).

National Association of Scholars involvement in political controversies began much earlier than the Iannone incident, though on smaller and more local levels. When the University of Michigan, in response to campus racial tension during 1987 and 1988, adopted an anti-harassment code, the newly-organized NAS played a minor role in finding a suitable plaintiff for the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union's challenge. He was Wesley Wynne, a graduate student and teaching assistant at Michigan who was involved in the campus NAS. In August 1989, when United States District Judge Avern Cohn ruled in favor of the plaintiff, finding that the university's anti-harassment code was excessively vague and therefore threatened the First Amendment, the National Association of Scholars took credit for the code being overturned (Diamond in Aufderheide 1992: 95).

In 1990, NAS members at the University of Texas at Austin successfully challenged a proposition to focus English 306, a required first-year writing course, on issues of race and gender in the United States. NAS members joined other opponents to allege that the revised course, which was to include Paula Rothenberg's *Sexism and Racism* text, would impart to students "biased scholarship and political indoctrination." The 1988 text by Rothenberg, current director of the New Jersey Project, the first state-wide curriculum transformation initiative, is one of the first textbooks to present an integrated feminist analysis of racism and sexism. After a public campaign in the local media and a university-based petition drive sponsored by the Austin chapter of the NAS, the dean of the College of Liberal Arts bowed to pressure and suspended the class in July of 1991 (Elson 1991; Mangan 1991).

In recent years, NAS methods seem to have shifted from direct intervention in campus controversies to more subtle strategies of documentation and media outreach. Examples include an NAS report analyzing changes in the core curriculum over the last twenty-five years (Magner 1991) and placement of NAS advertisements in major newspapers. Entitled "The Wrong Way to Reduce Campus Tensions," an April 12, 1992 NAS advertisement in *The New York Times*, for instance, blamed the rise of intergroup tensions at many colleges on "preferential hiring for faculty and staff positions, determined by race, ethnicity, and gender... [and] requirements that students take tendentious courses dealing with groups regarded as victimized" (*The New York Times*, April 12, 1992; NAS 1991 statement).

Liberal Responses to the Backlash

Student advocates of affirmative action, multicultural curriculum reform, and programs to address campus violence and harassment have also made their voices heard in the "p.c." debates. Consistently less well-funded than the Madison Center's Collegiate Network, the Campus Journals Network, established in 1988 by the Center for National Policy, a liberal Washington, DC public policy group, has provided one vehicle for liberal views. Comprised of 21 progressive student newspapers, many founded in the 1980s in response to growing numbers of conservative student publications, the Network gave start-up grants to new liberal campus publications — between $1,000 and $2,500 each — and offered two-day journalism workshops each summer (Dodge 1990b). Unlike the Madison Center, however, the Campus Journals Network has been able to give their papers only one-time grants.

In 1991, two independent membership organizations of concerned faculty members formed to respond to the conservative backlash in higher education. Teachers for a Democratic Culture (TDC) and the Union of Democratic Intellectuals (UDI) share common goals to democratize university curricula and create campus climates responsive to the needs of a diverse student body.

Founded and coordinated by Gerald Graff, professor of English at the University of Chicago and consultant to the American Council on Education, and Gregory Jay, professor of Composition and Literature at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, the main goal of Teachers for a Democratic Culture is "to provide a fair and accurate representation of developments at our nation's colleges and universities, especially in response to the misleading

charges about political correctness" (TDC 1991). On November 15-17, 1991, Teachers for a Democratic Culture and scholars at the University of Michigan organized *The "P.C." Frame-Up: What's Behind the Attack?*, a conference "to describe fairly the nature of the democratic reform movements that are under way at Michigan and elsewhere" (University of Michigan, conference brochure). In the spring of 1992, TDC's members numbered 900, and the organization defined as its focus national educational policy.

The Union of Democratic Intellectuals is also dedicated to fighting the "conservative counterattack" in American culture by "establishing a public, educational, critical, and radical presence on issues vital to cultural politics, academic, and public life" (Heller 1991: A22). Founded by Stanley Aronowitz, professor of Sociology at the City University of New York Graduate Center, and Lawrence Grossberg, professor of Speech Communication at the University of Illinois at Urbana, the Union of Democratic Intellectuals states as its two tenets: that in "an increasingly heterogeneous society, only a polyglot culture that accepts and appreciates the variety of human experience can be truly democratic"; and that good education is "a process of generating new knowledge by critically examining our cultural inheritance and questioning the values and power relations that shape all forms of intellectual activity (UDI 1991). By spring 1992, UDI had attracted about 400 members, starting with its initial 42-member organizing committee comprised mostly of university professors and students (UDI 1991). UDI organizers stressed the need for a "*permanent* organization of democratic intellectuals in *all* major cultural sites" (emphasis in original). On April 10-12, 1992, the two new organizations — UDI and TDC — co-sponsored *Reconstructing Higher Education: Beyond the Academic Culture Wars* in New York City, a three-day conference to "provide a forum for discussing the reasons behind the academic culture wars."

Academics also responded to the "p.c." debates in print. In addition to repeated coverage in the weekly *Chronicle of Higher Education* during the height of the controversy, articles and editorials by liberals and conservatives also appeared in the journals and newsletters of professional associations in higher education. In spring 1991, the American Association of University Professors and the Modern Language Association released statements about "political correctness" (See Appendix C).

Several anthologies on "political correctness" published in 1992 also sought to provide forums for different voices in the debates, particularly for liberal responses to media presentations of the debates. These included Patricia Aufderheide's *Beyond PC: Toward a Politics of Understanding*; Paul Berman's *Debating PC: The Controversy Over Political Correctness on College Campuses*; and Darryl J. Gless and Barbara Herrnstein Smith's *The Politics of Liberal Education*. While the Aufderheide and Berman anthologies include pieces by such "p.c." critics as Dinesh D'Souza and former Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch, the Gless and Hernnstein book is a collection of essays, most of which were given as papers at a 1988 Duke University/University of North Carolina conference, *Liberal Arts Education in the Late Twentieth Century: Emerging Conditions, Responsive Practices*, designed explicitly as a response to attacks on humanities teaching and curricular reform (Gless and Hernnstein 1992: 2).

Declining Dollars to Higher Education

The "p.c." debates reached their peak at the end of a decade marked by major reductions in federal, state, and foundation funding for higher education and a retreat from assumptions about equity and access that once bolstered affirmative action. Heated debates about which authors deserved inclusion in the "canon" masked growing anxieties about competition for scarce resources in academia. Rising tensions on campus were reflected in increases in hate crimes and sexual violence.

From 1980 to 1989, total funding for higher education plummeted by 24.3 percent after inflation (Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics reported in National Education Association 1992: 161). In the same period, four-year public college costs increased 33.6 percent and private four-year college costs increased 44.7 percent (National Education Association 1992: 161). In response to rising costs and decreased federal funding, many colleges and universities raised tuition and student fees; increased class size; offered fewer course sections; froze hiring for regular faculty and used more part-time adjunct faculty; delayed introducing new programs; and reduced spending on buildings, equipment, library acquisitions, and administrative salaries (National Education Association 1993: 51). Every sector of the academic community felt the financial crunch.

Reflecting these realities, one aspect of the "p.c." debates — resentment about special treatment for minorities — suggests a growing sense of financial pressure experienced by all students during the last decade. More students have to work while attending college and more rely on student loans. The decreased availability of grants and scholarships based on both need and merit has increasingly forced all students to borrow money for tuition and living expenses. As a result, more students are graduating with larger debts (Ries and Stone 1992: 281).

The impact of these funding cutbacks is even greater on minority students. Decreased availability of federal, state, and institutional financial aid threaten efforts to increase minority enrollment in higher education. As the American Council on Education's *Minorities in Higher Education* report notes, while more minorities are graduating from high school, many of these students are not moving on to college. For example, in 1988, 64 percent of 18 year-old African Americans graduated from high school, but only 29 percent enrolled in college; in contrast, whites had a 71 percent high school graduation rate and a 43 percent college enrollment rate (Carter and Wilson 1991: 7). Studies by the Higher Education Research Institute and the American College Testing Program suggest that the low rate of African American college attendance over the last decade is due in part to the replacement of grants with loans (Weber 1991: 119).

In a report by the American Council on Education, financial stability outweighed all other concerns of college and university administrators, with 84 percent of them citing adequate funding as one of their most urgent challenges (El Khawas 1991: vii). Faculty and staff from the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) drafted a joint statement protesting the continuing erosion of federal higher education funding, expressing particular

concern that cutbacks jeopardize the recruitment and advancement of women and minorities (National Education Association 1992: 162). (See Appendix E for additional data on the status of women and minorities in the academic workplace.)

Government Funding for Ethic Women's Studies, and Curriculum Transformation Projects

Over the last twenty-five years, government and foundation funding were critical to the establishment of ethnic studies, women's studies, and curriculum transformation projects. Yet in the last ten years, both government and foundation funding for these projects have decreased dramatically. (During these years, federal funding for women and minorities was concentrated primarily in the sciences — in agencies such as the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Institutes of Health, where, in response to pressure from women's groups and the public, NIH opened an Office of Women's Health Research.) Corporate philanthropy, which was expected to take over for reduced government and foundation funding in higher education, has not provided significant support for ethnic studies, women's studies, or curriculum projects.

As the "p.c." debates underscored, federal agencies concerned with education, the arts, and culture were embroiled in political battles. Since the humanities, multiculturalism, ethnic studies, women's studies, and curriculum transformation projects are by nature concerned with issues of access, cultural values, and social change, their proponents faced great challenges in getting funding from the Department of Education, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Endowment for the Arts during the last decade.

Indeed, the Reagan and Bush administrations provided jobs and public platforms in these agencies for educational activists like William Bennett who used their positions to help frame the "p.c." debates from "traditionalist" perspectives. On May 5, 1991, President George Bush entered the fray, adding authority to the debates by delivering his University of Michigan commencement address on "political correctness." Invoking "the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights," President Bush warned that because of "p.c.," free speech was "under assault throughout the land." He claimed that "political extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race." Bush said, "Such bullying is outrageous. It's not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect" (Aufderheide 1992: 227; Dowd 1991: A32).

Though President Bush's University of Michigan speech raised "p.c." to an even higher media profile, it was through federal appointments and funding cuts in higher education that his administration weighed in most heavily on the "p.c." debates. While conservative activists and officials attacked the intellectual premises on which ethnic studies, women's studies, and multicultural curriculum reforms were based, the Reagan and Bush administrations cut the total funding available to institutionalize successful projects and diminished the possibility of support for other innovative projects in these fields.

United States Department of Education

The Department of Education is a cabinet-level department that establishes policy for, administers, and coordinates federal assistance to education. In the past, three agencies within the Department of Education have been major funding sources for research, curriculum, and faculty development in women's studies: the National Institute of Education (NIE), the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), and the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEA). All three have severely reduced the funding of women-related projects in the last decade. The National Council for Research on Women's 1985 report, *Declining Federal Commitment to Research about Women 1980-84*, focused on the decline in funding for research in women's studies, but the report documents that between 1977 and 1983, federal funding for Black studies and ethnic studies also declined — 30 percent for Black studies and 24 percent for ethnic studies (Rubin 1985: 15-20).

National Institute of Education

The National Institute of Education supported research, training, and dissemination of materials at various levels of education. During the Carter administration, NIE housed a special initiative to promote educational equity for women and girls and minorities. After 1980, the Reagan administration eliminated this equity initiative and reduced the NIE budget by 25 percent between 1981 and 1984. Where NIE made 35 grants related to women and minorities in 1979, in 1983 NIE funded two such projects (Musil and Sales 1991: 28). In the mid-1980s, NIE became the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI). "Since then," says OERI Research Associate Susan Klein, "funding for sex equity at all levels of education, including higher education, has been practically nonexistent" (Klein 1993).

Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education

Established by the Education Amendments of 1972, the mandate of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) is to encourage "the reform, innovation, and improvement of postsecondary education and provide equal educational opportunity for all" (Musil and Sales 1991: 27). One of the earliest funders of women's studies, from 1973-1975, FIPSE awarded 16 grants totaling $2.3 million for women's projects (FIPSE 1977) and from 1976-1978, 28 grants totaling $3.8 million for women's projects — a 65 percent increase (FIPSE 1979).

Between 1981-1984, however, the total FIPSE budget was cut from $13.5 million to $11.7 million. In the mid-1980s, the Reagan administration tried to slash FIPSE's budget in half and then to eliminate the agency entirely. Congress intervened and FIPSE survived, but with a greatly reduced budget. A January 1986 *Chronicle of Higher Education* article "Postsecondary Fund Sets Priorities for Grants, Keeping Areas Secretary Was Said to Oppose" reported on criticism of Education Secretary William Bennett's proposal for significant revisions to FIPSE's guidelines. According to the article, educators saw Bennett's proposal as an attempt to undermine the traditional independence of the fund and also noted that in testimony before two Congressional committees, Peter Smith, chair of FIPSE's national board of directors, charged Bennett with "trying to decrease the fund's emphasis on projects that increase access to higher education for minority groups and disadvantaged students" (Palmer 1986: 1).

Despite its turbulent history in the 1980s, FIPSE has remained a leader in funding innovative curriculum integration projects. A three-year FIPSE grant to the Eaton College curriculum integration project culminated in a June 1983 conference that brought together 200 faculty and administrators representing 60 institutions (Musil and Sales 1991: 27; Schmitz 1985: 5). Another innovative FIPSE grant enabled Smith College's Department of Afro-American Studies and the University of Massachusetts Women's Studies Program to collaborate in the first curriculum development project to bring together research and scholars in Black Studies and Women's Studies. FIPSE also funded two model projects by the Organization of American Historians: the first project to integrate women's history into standard Western Civilization and United States history courses and the first project to develop material on women in the Third World for use in World Civilization and Area Studies. Another FIPSE-funded project at Towson State focused on the integration of scholarship on women into the curriculum at five community colleges in the Baltimore-Washington area. And in 1990, FIPSE supported the National Women's Studies Association with a three-year grant for the study, *The Courage to Question: Women's Studies and Student Learning* (Musil and Sales 1991: 28).

Women's Educational Equity Act

Authorized by Congress in 1974, WEEA was established to promote educational equity for women and girls at all levels of schooling. In 1979, Leslie Wolfe, now director of the Center for Women Policy Studies, was appointed director of WEEA. That year WEEA funded three major curriculum transformation projects at Georgia State University, Utah State University, and Montana State University (Schmitz 1985: 3). In 1980, WEEA had a $10 million budget to fund women's studies projects at all educational levels and in the community. Its five official priorities included funding specifically for women of color and women with disabilities (Davis 1991: 360). In their histories of the contemporary United States women's movement, both Flora Davis and Susan Faludi recount the Reagan administration's targeting of WEEA (Davis 1991: 442-443, Faludi 1991: 259-263): after failed attempts to eliminate the agency and then to zero-fund it, according to Davis and Faludi, the Administration began to harass Wolfe, moving her first to another civil service position, and then, according to Davis, "saw to it that the outside experts brought in to judge grant proposals [for WEEA] were drawn from Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, an organization of right-wing Republican women, and other conservative groups. Many had traditional ideas about a woman's place; most had no relevant experience. A year later, Wolfe was forced out of her job at WEEA" (Davis 1991: 443).

Throughout the 1980s, WEEA's budget was cut: to $5 million in 1984; $3.3 million in 1988; and $2.9 million in 1989. After that, according to a source within the Department of Education, the department chose "not to request any funding whatsoever for WEEA in its budget, which has meant that a budget is maintained only because the Congress chooses to appropriate money each year to keep WEEA alive" (Musil and Sales 1991: 29).

Both Congresswoman Patsy Mink (D-HI), the original sponsor of WEEA in 1973, and the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues had requested an appropriation of at least $2 million for fiscal year 1992, but the program received only $500,000. When reviewing changes in Department of Education funding for fiscal year 1992, the National Education Association cited the 75 percent decrease in funding for the WEEA program as "the most

dramatic plunge taken at the federal level" (National Education Association 1993: 44). In response to the cutbacks, in 1992, the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education (NCWGE) established a new committee to work on a WEEA Restoration Campaign. Co-chaired by Leslie Wolfe and Walteen Grady Truely, President of Women and Foundations/Corporate Philanthropy, the committee's immediate goals are to ensure reauthorization of the Women's Educational Equity Act and continued Congressional funding of the WEEA Program.

The National Endowment for the Humanitites

Few government agencies illustrate the development and politicization of debates over "political correctness" in academia more clearly than the National Endowment for the Humanities (paralleled among the general public and in Congress by related controversies over funding and censorship by the National Endowment for Arts). As the federal agency that has the greatest impact on liberal arts research, teaching, and curriculum reform, the Endowment was at the center of the "p.c." debates in the 1980s.

The mission of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), which was established in 1965, is "to aid scholarship and research in the humanities, help improve humanities education, and foster in the American people a greater curiosity about and understanding of the humanities" (National Endowment for the Humanities July 1992: 5). To further its mission, NEH supports scholarly research, research tool development, preservation of research sources, fellowships, seminars, and a wide range of public education programs.

Starting with William Bennett's tenure as NEH chairman during the Reagan administration, the Endowment served as a site from which to attack women's studies, ethnic studies, and other multicultural curriculum reform efforts both intellectually and financially. From 1981 to 1983, the Reagan administration cut $20 million from the NEH budget (a 14 percent cut). Funding for women-related projects declined by $1 million (a 50 percent decrease) to less than one percent — a mere .67 percent — of the total NEH budget (Rubin 1985: 12).

When Bennett moved to the Department of Education as Secretary (1985-1988), Lynne V. Cheney took over as NEH chair from 1986 to January 20, 1993 (her second term was to run until May 1994, but Cheney's resignation became effective at the start of the Clinton administration). Following Cheney's unsuccessful 1991 defense of the nomination of Iannone to the National Council on the Humanities (which governs the NEH) in the spring of 1992, Teachers for a Democratic Culture and other critics charged Cheney and President Bush with conservative bias in nominations for eight seats on the Council. Among those nominated (for terms expiring January 26, 1998) were at least three members of the National Association of Scholars: Theodore S. Hamerow, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin; John R. Searle, Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at Berkeley; and Alan C. Kors, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania (Burd 1992a: A27 and Press Release, Office of the White House Press Secretary, March 27, 1992).

Though its budget is small compared to other federal agencies — in 1991, the NEH budget was $176 million compared to the 1991 National Science Foundation budget of $2.34 billion — NEH remains the single largest supporter of humanities projects in the United States. In 1991, NEH accounted for 64 percent of available national fellowship dollars in the humanities (Greenberg 1992: 14). As the federal agency that has the greatest impact on liberal arts research and teaching, NEH influences the direction of curricular innovation and research in women's studies and ethnic studies.

In 1991, the agency considered 8,132 applications but financed only 1,776 projects (Burd 1992b: A32). Fellowships have become less numerous, less valuable, and more difficult to win (Greenberg 1992: 13). Of projects funded in all NEH divisions for 1991, merely 164 projects on women, gender, or feminism received funding. Of 248 Research Division grants approved in 1991, eight projects focused on women, gender, or feminism (3.2 percent) and 25 focused on ethnic studies (10 percent). Projects on women, gender, or feminism received 2 percent of total funding, and ethnic studies projects received 12 percent. (See Appendix D for percentages of 1991-92 NEH funding for projects on women, gender, and feminism and projects in ethnic studies.)

Throughout her tenure at NEH, Lynne Cheney denied that politics or ideology influenced the agency's funding priorities. While it is true that NEH did fund projects on women and minorities, the majority of projects funded were traditional in focus and scope. Among the accomplishments she noted in her resignation statement, Cheney spoke of resisting those "voices loudly urging us to look only to the cutting-edge" (Cheney 1992). Writing in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Stephen Burd noted that the projects NEH funded in the late 1980s tended *not* to deal with race and gender (Burd 1992b). Citing critics who charged that the opposition of a single reviewer could render a grant proposal ineligible for funding, Burd pointed out that NEH routinely rejected applications that differed from Cheney's stated preferences (Burd 1992b). One former NEH staff member quoted in the *Chronicle* stated, "Projects dealing with Latin America, the Caribbean, some women's studies, and anything appearing as vaguely left wing are seen as suspect. Controversy is a central issue: will this cause a headline and get us in hot water with our conservative constituency?" (Burd 1992b: A32). By the late 1980s, scholars in these fields often did not bother to apply for NEH grants; others re-cast their projects in more traditional terms.

In his 1992 analysis of Cheney's tenure at NEH — based on interviews with Cheney, former NEH chairs, and National Humanities Council members and staff — David Segal commented that "Cheney enforces agency-wide ideological conformity not so much by kicking individual applications back downstairs as by neatly arranging things so that such kicking is rarely necessary.... The occasional veto aside, most of Cheney's tampering is hard to see, some is difficult to attribute to her, and all of it is nearly impossible to get ex-staffers to discuss on the record" (Segal 1992: 58, 59). Those interviewed also criticized Cheney for shaping the review process, lobbying Congress to confirm her conservative nominees to the Council, lobbying Council members on particular grants while minimizing the Council's overall impact by controlling meeting agendas, expanding the NEH public relations department, traveling abroad extensively with her husband, former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, attending too few academic meetings, and campaigning for George Bush's re-election (Segal 1992).

In December 1992, after Cheney announced her intention to resign, John Hammer of the National Humanities Alliance (NHA) commented, "Although many in the NHA community were troubled by some of her views and the relentless manner in which she advocated them, even a casual look at her resignation statement underscores that the accomplishments of the last few years have been significant" (Hammer 1992). Segal commented, "The shame is that she had a chance to be a quieting force in the dustup over political correctness and instead has used her position to turn up the volume. Wars have winners and losers; the humanities should not" (Segal 1992: 63).

Foundation Funding for Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Curriculum Transformation Projects

The politics of government funding for higher education and the humanities in the 1980s forced practitioners and researchers of ethnic studies, women's studies, and curriculum transformation projects to turn to private foundations for financial support. While the level of foundation funding did increase, it was not enough to off set the loss of funding through governmental sources (Musil and Sales 1991: 25).

Attacks on "p.c." by NEH chair Lynne Cheney may also have had a negative impact on private foundation funding for women's studies, ethnic studies, and multicultural projects. According to Malcolm Richardson, Deputy Director of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, the increased use of matching grants by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts has led a number of private foundations to postpone decisions on pending applications until the applicant can show a favorable decision by one of the endowments. According to Richardson, "Some foundations make it clear that they look more favorably on projects with support in hand from either the NEH or NEA" (Richardson 1993: 61). Without the legitimizing stamp of NEH approval, a range of women's studies, ethnic studies, and multicultural projects had to compete for scarce foundation funding from a less-advantageous position.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, a few major foundations continued to provide support that enabled women's studies, ethnic studies, and curriculum transformation projects to build on earlier efforts. In "Philanthropy and the Emergence of Women's Studies," Mariam Chamberlain and Alison Bernstein estimate that foundations invested $36 million over the last 20 years on women's studies projects, with as much as two-thirds of this total coming from the Ford Foundation. Beginning in the early 1970s, Ford grants to women's studies have gone through four stages: (1) faculty and dissertation awards to individuals; (2) grants to institutions to establish permanent centers for research on women; (3) grants to support "corollary" institutions such as *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (1975), the National Women's Studies Association (1979), and the National Council for Research on Women (1982); and finally, (4) project-level support for curriculum integration and mainstreaming minority women's studies (Chamberlain and Bernstein 1992: 566-567). Other sources of funding for women's studies during this period have included the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Lilly Endowment, and the Mellon Foundation.

The Ford Foundation also accounted for 60 percent of foundation funding for ethnic studies from 1983-88 (Bolland and Walter 1991: 44-45). In 1990, Ford launched the Campus Diversity Project with an initial allocation of $1.6 million for a competitive grants programs. Nineteen institutions received grants for projects to "encourage faculty and students to intensify their work on cultural differences and to broaden related campus activities" (Beckham 1992: 9). As of winter 1992, the Ford Foundation had committed $4 million to 50 institutions for this initiative and announced that they would invest an additional $8 million over the next five years.

Significant commitment of funds for campus diversity projects by the Ford Foundation and other major foundations such as the Lilly Endowment underscore the importance and complexity of the challenge to create campus environments that would, in the words of University of Wisconsin-Madison Dean of Students Mary Rouse, "welcome those who have not been welcomed in the past" (Rouse 1992: 17).

The following overview of campus violence/campus climate trends suggests, on the one hand, how far higher education has to go to become truly inclusive in the 1990s and, on the other, how unsolved civil rights problems in the United States are an integral though seldom-acknowledged component of the "p.c." debates. As noted earlier, the number of incidents of racial, ethnic, and gender harassment and attacks on campuses around the country far outstrip the number of reported "p.c." incidents (see page 3). At least in some cases, bias incidents created such inhospitable campus climates that institutions attempted to respond by developing speech codes and other strategies labeled "p.c." Critics like former Reagan White House Education Secretary William Bennett and writer Dinesh D'Souza assert that "p.c." and multiculturalism are to blame for bias incidents and the "balkanization" of American campuses (Zangara 1993: 2A), but as the following section documents, speech codes, diversity workshops, and curriculum transformation efforts — perhaps imperfect or still-evolving as solutions — are, in fact, responses to institutional racism and sexism that most critics of "p.c." fail to confront.

Realities on Campus

— *May 8, 1988, Northern Illinois University (Dekalb, IL)*: Students passing an African American student walking home from a campus bar harassed him by yelling, "Niggers go home!" and "Niggers, we ought to lynch you."

— *September 29, 1988, Ohlone College (Fremont, CA)*: Students quickly tore down nearly all flyers announcing the formation of a Gay Student Union. They defaced those remaining with swastikas and slogans like "Gays must die."

— *November 6, 1988, Bryn Mawr College (Bryn Mawr, PA)*: A first-year Latina student returned to her dorm room and found an anonymous note tucked under her door. The note said: "Hey Spic. If you and your kind can't handle the work here at Bryn Mawr, don't blame it on this racial thing. You are just making our school look bad to everyone else. If you can't handle it, why don't you just get out. We'd all be a lot happier."

— *November 23, 1988, Temple University (Philadelphia, PA)*: The university officially recognized a newly formed student union called the White Student Union. The Union opposed affirmative action and wanted to promote "White pride" among students.

(Ehrlich 1990: 41-72)

Hate or bias crimes — violence directed at a group, or a representative of a group, usually targeting the victimized groups' ethnicity, race, religion, national origin, political belief, gender, age, physical condition, disability, or sexual orientation—have been reported with increasing frequency on all types of college campuses in all parts of the country. The following overview of a range of recent studies on racial intolerance, anti-Semitism, sexual harassment, rape, and harassment of gay and lesbian students reflects the complexity of current conflicts on campuses across the United States, a complexity too often missing from media reports that link incidents with the "p.c." debates (Noley 1991; Lyons 1990; Keller 1988-89).

As Howard J. Erlich, Director of Research for the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence reported in 1990, "ethnoviolence" alone, which he describes as covering a "spectrum of violent acts, including potentially lethal assaults, classroom and dormitory harassment, personal insults, graffiti, [and] property damage" has happened to approximately twenty percent of minority students across the country, at least one-fourth of whom were victimized more than once (Ehrlich 1990: iii). In the more extreme case studies, according to Erlich, 65 to 70 percent of a campus minority population experienced some form of ethnoviolent harassment.

Heightened awareness of these crimes, coupled with analysis of their causes and manifestations, points to deep-rooted prejudice in United States culture and an overall lack of institutional structures designed to create safe or supportive campus environments for female and minority students. (For information on resource groups, see Appendices E and F.)

Societal Context

Despite advances resulting from the 1960s civil rights movement and the dismantling of legal segregation, the persistence of institutional sexism and racism in the United States reflects the difficulty of changing ingrained thoughts and attitudes (For information on the representation of people of color and women on campus, see Appendix E). As Debra Blum points out in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, recent studies on the status of women on college campuses — ranging from Middlebury College to Pennsylvania State and Case Western Reserve Universities, and the Universities of Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Virginia, and the University of Wisconsin system — document "persistent and widespread gender discrimination and sexual harassment" and draw "the same conclusions reached in similar reports prepared 20 years ago: Female professors, staff members, and administrators in academe face a hostile work environment" (Blum 1991).

Studies on racial attitudes reflect similar resistance to fundamental change. According to a 1991 survey of United States racial attitudes by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, 53 percent of white respondees still believe that African Americans and Hispanics are less intelligent than whites. In a 1990 study, 78 percent maintained that

African Americans and Hispanics prefer to be welfare dependent (Smith 1990: 9). Other studies show profound divisions between white and minority youth, pointing to deep-seated mistrust and pessimism between youth of different races and about the "systems" employed to correct inequities among them.

As always, the language canvassers use to elicit response about perceptions and beliefs affect results. Where references to "integration" or "equality" prompt generally positive responses, for instance, suggestions of "special" treatment or "quotas" trigger opposite reactions. In a 1991 survey of 1,170 Black, Hispanic, and white youth between the ages of 15 and 24 conducted by the People for the American Way (1992: 13), a constitutional liberties organization in Washington, DC, surveyors found that despite the youths' overall hopes for an integrated society, 78 percent of white youths opposed "special preferences" for minority applicants to higher education. In an era of diminishing access to financial aid and economic recession, these white students feared affirmative action policies that were represented as providing "preferential treatment" for others and hampering their own educational and employment opportunities.

Student reactions mirror those of the general populace, where voters reflect similar fears (responses to Jesse Helm's anti-"quota" language in the 1988 North Carolina senatorial race, for example, or to the "special treatment" arguments in the 1992 Colorado referendum campaign to restrict gay and lesbian civil rights). In general, however, as Ehrlich points out, language and attitudes have shifted favorably, but institutional structures have not. Dealing with "the recurrent patterns of prejudice, discrimination, conflict, and ethnoviolence on college campuses" requires understanding their systemic character in the larger social system (Ehrlich 1990: 7, 3).

Persistently racist institutional structures, according to Ehrlich, combined with high foreign immigration to the United States and low domestic job opportunities, have created volatile situations between whites and people of color in this country. (Since 1970, immigration has doubled the foreign-born United States population.) Income gaps between whites and racial minorities testify to the endurance of institutional discrimination. In 1987, for example, 33 percent of African Americans and 28 percent of Hispanics had incomes below the poverty level, three times higher than the proportion of whites (Ehrlich 1990: 7).

United States colleges and universities, which bring together racially and ethnically diverse populations of students, are microcosms of prejudice, making ethnoviolence a significant part of intergroup relations on campuses. Throughout the 1980s, the incidence of bias or "hate" crimes rose dramatically, touching virtually all large, multi-racial institutions. In its *1990 Campus Violence Survey*, the Campus Violence Prevention Center at Towson State University found that since 1988, nearly 10 percent of United States universities experienced a rise in bias incidents. In addition to sporadic and spontaneous acts of vandalism, graffiti, intimidation, and harassment, *Combating Bigotry on Campus* noted instances of "organized bigotry" by groups of students expressed in a public manner (Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith 1989: 3). And according to *Campus Ethnoviolence and the Policy Options*, since the fall of 1986, 250 universities across the country reported incidents of harassment and violence involving race, religion, ethnicity or sexual orientation (Erlich 1990: iii). Finally, as noted earlier, from 1990 to 1991, 74 percent of doctoral institutions surveyed in a recent American Council on Education study reported incidents of violence related to race, gender, or sexual preference (El Khawas 1991: 17).

Harrassment of Students of Color

— *November 28, 1988, University of California (Berkeley, CA)*: "Stop the Asian Hordes" appeared in spray paint at the Engineering School. Carefully carved into the Ethnic studies department was the warning: "Japs and Chinks Only." The word "Nigger" was spray-painted across an African Students Association poster.

— *May 27, 1988*, Stanford University (Stanford, CA): A group of Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority members dressed as mock Indians, danced, and whooped "Indian hollers" just outside the campus Native American Center.

(Ehrlich 1990: 41-72)

Students of color are at especially high risk in bias incidents. Erlich estimates 20 to 25 percent of racial minority students are victims of at least one violent crime per year. In raw numbers, this translates into roughly 800,000 to one million students per year (Erlich 1990: 3). Moreover, close to one-third of these students are victimized more than once a year (Martinez 1992: 35). In a Michigan State University survey conducted by the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, a random sample of 541 students was asked, "At MSU, have you ever observed an incident that you thought was racist or showed an intolerance for minorities?" Of the respondents, 66 percent of the African American students said yes, followed by Hispanics (47 percent), Native Americans (39 percent), Asians (33 percent), and nonminority students (30 percent) (Ehrlich 1990: 13). Another survey of minority and international students at Saint Cloud State University, an institution of about 16,000 students 70 miles northwest of Minneapolis, Minnesota, found that faculty had made racist remarks in the presence of 50 percent of those surveyed and that 46 percent of the surveyed had experienced ethnoviolence in their on-campus dormitories (Ehrlich 1990: 14).

Moreover, as William B. Harvey noted, whenever institutions and individual faculty members pursue a course of "silent observation," their failure "to deplore racist and discriminatory behavior...amounts to an implicit endorsement of racial bias" (Harvey 1991: 117). The cumulative effects of such racial harassment create an extremely hostile environment for minority students. A university culture that may be alien to their background, combined with racially-strained relationships with white students over conflicting lifestyles or interests, attitudes that minorities are intellectually marginal, and an overall lack of institutional structures designed for minority students, makes discomfort a daily event for many students of color and, in some cases, makes classroom learning impossible.

Harrassment of Women

— *January 13, 1988, Central Michigan University (Mt. Pleasant, MI)*: White students taped trash bags and a sign reading "bitch" to the dormitory door of a Black woman.

— *December 13, 1987, University of Colorado (Boulder, CO)*: A poster of a large naked Black woman was slipped into a library display honoring Martin Luther King's birthday.

(Ehrlich 1990: 41-72)

Incidents of violence against women, including gender harassment (expressing generalized sexist attitudes), sexual harassment, and rape, actually occur in greater frequency on campuses across the country than incidents of ethnoviolence (Ehrlich 1990: 15). At Cornell University, for example, 78 percent of women surveyed personally received unwanted sexist comments, and 68 percent received unwanted sexual attention from male students. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 92 percent of the women reported experiencing at least one form of unwanted sexual attention. And at the University of Rhode Island, 70 percent of the women reported being sexually insulted by a man (Hughes and Sandler 1988).

Women of color, because of a perceived lack of status and power, are especially vulnerable to sexual harassment and assault (Moses 1989; Nieves-Squires 1991). Like other minority students, women of color may experience profound discomfort and isolation from continuous ethnoviolence and harassment. Minority women, however, face a "double bias" as faculty and students judge them on the basis of preconceived notions of ***both*** their race and gender, reducing their overall participation in classroom and university life (Moses 1989: 3, 4-5, 14-15; Nieves-Squires 1991: 5). On many campuses, stereotypes about African American women's sexuality or Hispanic women's "passivity" are commonplace (Moses 1989; Nieves-Squires 1991).

Experts on sexual harassment agree that the majority of incidents in the academic community go unreported (National Council for Research on Women 1992: 24). According to a *USA Today* study cited in the December 1992 *Feminist Majority Report*, at least one rape is reported on a campus every 24 hours (Ellis and Goff 1992: 13). The actual extent of rape on college campuses is difficult to track because, as with ethnoviolence, rape statistics are usually gathered from reports filed with appropriate on-campus and off-campus authorities — a reporting that many times does not occur, especially with "acquaintance rapes," incidents in which the victim knows her (or his) offender. Even so, studies suggest that acquaintance rapes account for over half of all reported rapes on United States campuses.

At Purdue University, for example, one survey of 700 randomly selected undergraduates in the spring of 1991 showed that 65 percent of the 383 women were victims of rape. Extrapolated to the entire student body, that means that approximately 2,600 of 15,000 women — about one in six — were raped sometime during their four years at Purdue (Kathlene 1992a: 30). Another Purdue University survey found that of the 65 percent who were survivors of rape, close to 70 percent knew their assailants (Kathlene 1991: 26). A similar survey by the Campus Violence Prevention Center found that at 2,700 colleges and universities across the United States, 61 percent of all reported rapes were date rapes. Moreover, 13.3 percent of those institutions said incidents of acquaintance rape rose between 1988 and 1990 (Campus Violence Prevention Center 1990: 3).

Anti-Semitic Harassment

— *Fall, 1986, Philadelphia College of Textiles and Art (Philadelphia, PA)*: Jewish sukkah (ritual hut) was vandalized and swastikas were found on a school building.

— *February 12, 1988, Rutgers University (New Brunswick, NJ)*: Rutgers' Hillel Foundation building was the target of anti-Semitic graffiti including a swastika, the words "Boot Boy Power" and a denunciation of religion.

(Ehrlich 1990: 41-72)

Incidents of anti-Semitism have also been increasing on United States campuses. Reports of vandalization of student religion centers, harassment of Jewish women and parodies of religious life, and anti-Semitic graffiti have increased over the past years (The Anti Defamation League 1989). The "Annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents," by the Anti-Defamation League found that in 1984, six campuses reported incidents of anti-Semitic bias crimes; by 1989, this number had risen to 51 (Leatherman 1990: A40). In addition, the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, an organization which has monitored incidents on campuses and nationwide, identified 174 campuses between 1986 and 1988 on which anti-Semitic incidences had occurred (Campus Violence Prevention Center 1990). While the number of anti-Semitic incidents nationwide declined in 1992, according to the Anti-Defamation League, incidents on college campuses actually *increased*. The 114 incidents on 60 campuses reported in 1992 represents a 12 percent rise over 1991 and a doubling of such incidents since 1988 (Anti-Defamation League 1993).

Bigoted jokes and slurs about Jewish women represent another widespread campus phenomenon. The term "JAP" for "Jewish American Princess" has evolved as an epithet to denigrate Jewish women. As they are depicted in jokes and graffiti, JAPs are spoiled daughters of *nouveau riche* parents, often represented as despicable and unwanted. Jewish women have experienced this verbal harassment in campus humor magazines, at collegiate sports events, through graffiti, and in daily taunts and epithets on campuses throughout the country. At one campus forum on JAP-baiting at Syracuse University in the late 1980s, an unexpected 500 students turned out to discuss methods of combating the harassment (The Anti-Defamation League 1989: 9).

Harrassment of Gay and Lesbian Students

— *January 22, 1988, University of Alaska (Fairbanks, UK)*: Students verbally harassed homosexual students and defaced their property with "Anti-Fag Society" logos. Students also wore sweatshirts with the motto, "Death Before Dishonor" printed above the "*Anti-Fag Society*" logo.

— *April 14, 1988, University of Vermont (Burlington, VT)*: Students spray-painted "Kill Queers" on the fender of a car in front of a fraternity house. A week later, another fraternity wrote "Drink Beers, Kill Queers" on its bus.

(Ehrlich 1990: 41-72)

Several studies have focused solely on group violence directed at gays and lesbians on campus. A 1988 survey at Pennsylvania State University found that 72 percent of those gay and lesbian students who responded had been victimized because of their sexual preferences. On the campus at large, 95 percent of all students said they had heard anti-gay or anti-lesbian comments (D'Augelli 1988). In 1987, at Rutgers University, a women's studies department survey found that 55 percent of gay and lesbian students reported being verbally assaulted, and 18 percent reported being physically assaulted on campus. Typically, 88 percent did not report the incident to formal authorities (Ehrlich 1990: 14). Though harassment of gay and lesbian students — from slurs to physical assaults and death threats — most often goes unreported, the eighth annual National Gay and Lesbian Task Force study, *Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence, Victimization and Defamation in 1992*, notes that anti-gay violence and harassment are on the rise, representing a pervasive problem nationwide (Hiraga 1993).

In 1988 at the University of Illinois, for example, in response to Gay Awareness Week, members of Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative youth organization, declared the same week "Heterosexual Week." And at Northwestern University in 1987, a homosexual couple in a campus dance marathon received death threats on their answering machine. The following year, another homosexual couple in the same marathon received similar threats (Ehrlich 1990: 41-72).

Conclusion: Necessary Change

The "political correctness" debates of the late 1980s and 1990s mask complicated realities related to change in higher education. Placing the debates and media coverage of "p.c." in broad social context, this report describes the evolution of backlash against higher education reform and the rise of harassment and hate crimes on campuses around the country. An overview and several appendices provide information on ethnic studies, women's studies, and curriculum transformation projects. Interested readers can shape their own assessments of the goals, failures, successes, and challenges faced by these and other academic initiatives launched in the past two decades. The real challenge ahead is to make higher education more accessible and hospitable to all; to create flexible curricula that include excellent works from a variety of cultures as well as classics of Western civilization most illuminating for our own times; to ensure freedom of inquiry and expression; and to teach critical thinking and civic skills so that students can become full participants in public debates over their own future.

The new Clinton administration, with its eye toward the 21st century, provides an opportunity to reflect on and transcend the vitriol and misinformation of the "p.c." debates. The sheer volume of "p.c" attacks in the popular media has diminished since the height of the controversies, but conservative politicians continue to use "p.c" as an epithet as long as it appears to have power to focus attention. When President Clinton announced the appointment of Donna Shalala to the Cabinet as head of Health and Human Services, for example, conservatives attacked Shalala as "the Queen of P.C.," mocking The Madison Plan, a major initiative she spearheaded in the mid-1980s at the University of Wisconsin to counter overt incidents of racism and diversify the campus.

William Bennett, now a fellow at the Hudson Institute and co-director of Empower America, a conservative policy foundation, continues to serve as an advocate for the conservative agenda in higher education, along with other familiar figures from the Bush adminstration, including former NEH chair Lynne Cheney and former policy adviser Dinesh D'Sousa, now fellows at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. At a three-day March 1993 policy conference for Republican activists and members of Congress sponsored by the Congressional Institute, Inc., a conservative think-tank, D'Souza joined Bennett in calling for a rejection of multiculturalism and a return to earlier curricular "standards" and "values" (Zangara 1993: 2A). Bennett, speaking earlier at a February 27, 1993 retreat of Republican members of Congress, sounded "almost as if he were still Education Secretary and George Bush were still President," noted Michael Wines in the *New York Times* (Wines 1993: 8).

On other fronts, members of the National Association of Scholars, conservative think-tanks, and conservative funders are also continuing to resist change in the name of "p.c." "Just when it seemed the last word about political correctness on American college campuses had been heard," Anthony DePalma declared in the March 3, 1993 *New York Times*, a group of scholars DePalma characterized as holding "very traditional ideas about learning" met to form the American Academy for Liberal Education, a specialized accrediting association intended to counter what they see as a tide of curriculum transformation and multicultural projects on campuses in the United States (DePalma 1993: 13). Political battles will no doubt pick up again in late 1993, when the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources conducts hearings on reauthorization of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Clinton administration seeks to identify candidates for the nine Humanities Council seats that will be open in January 1994.

Perhaps one positive outcome of the "p.c." debates will be more balanced coverage of these events in the media. Another positive outcome could be more stringent efforts to ensure intellectual diversity among members of the Council and other federal funding agencies and to institute mechanisms for monitoring equity in all federal funding. Other necessary changes to work toward include:

- improved reporting by federal agencies of data on grant recipients by race, ethnicity, and gender;
- genuine commitment to educational equity in programs in the Department of Education;
- greater accessibility of financial aid for students at all levels;
- continuing open-minded debate about affirmative action and other ways to ensure access and equitable education for those historically under-represented in the academy;
- research on the most successful strategies for increasing the number of people of color as students, faculty, staff, and senior administrators on campuses;
- promotion of more women to senior faculty, staff, and administrative positions;
- adequate funding for such initiatives;
- expansion of graduate fellowships and postdoctoral fellowships for women and minorities in all fields, especially the sciences and technical fields; and for women's studies and ethnic studies scholars;
- more teacher training and public education about sexual, racial and other forms of harassment on campus;
- greater collaboration between women's studies and ethnic studies programs with recognition for the leadership of women of color in attempts to "build bridges" between these two fields;
- commitment to evaluation and institutionalization of successful women's studies, ethnic studies, curriculum transformation and campus diversity projects;

- continued support for scholarly efforts to critique and correct constructions of knowledge that exclude, misinterpret, and/or devalue particular groups of people;
- continued efforts to provide appropriate campus forums for debate on controversial issues;
- greater awareness of the legislative politics of higher education on the part of academics, including willingness to give expert testimony so that a broad range of views will be represented in reauthorization hearings; and
- expanded outreach by educational organizations to national, local, and student media to encourage more in-depth reporting on higher education.

Most important — and underlying all of these recommendations — is the need for unflinching examination of the foundational ideas and norms that shape our values as a nation. Campuses, communities, religious organizations, families, corporations, the media, business, unions, and government — all must continue to strive for understanding, acceptance, and the intellectual honesty these democratic values require of us. Institutionally-sanctioned behavior that is discriminatory, intolerant, and hateful has no place in a civilized society. Such behavior is particularly abhorrent on college campuses — crucibles where examined and re-examined truths and values help shape both citizens and institutional structures of the future.

Perhaps another positive outcome of the "p.c." controversies of the last several years is renewed awareness of the importance of those crucibles — importance in bringing together as equals students from different family backgrounds, economic circumstances, and cultural traditions and importance in expanding their access to accurate information, open debate, and critical thinking. Our competitive future as a nation depends on challenging, innovative education. The goal of this report is to contribute both facts and analysis to help set the record straight.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Selected Chronology of Media Coverage

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Rosa Ehrenreich. "What Campus Radicals?" *Harper's Magazine*, 57-61.

December 1991.
Louis Menand. "What Are Universities For?" *Harper's Magazine*, 47-56.

January 1992.
Jamin Raskin. "The Fallacies of 'Political Correctness': I," *Z*, 31-37.

January 15, 1992.
John M. Ellis. "The Origins of PC," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Op-Ed, B1-2.

January/February 1992.
Paul Berman. "The Fog of Political Correctness," *Tikkun*, 53-58, 94-96.

January/February 1992.
Huntley Collins. "PC and the Press," *Change*. Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education, 12-19.

January 10, 1993.
William Celis 3rd. "College Curriculums Shaken to the Core," Education Life, *The New York Times*, 16-18.

Appendix B: Activist Networks of Student Newspapers on Campuses

The Collegiate Network of the Madison Center for Educational Affairs

The Academy (Georgetown University)
The Amherst Spectator
The Badger Herald (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Binghamton Review (State University of New York-Binghamton)
The Brandeisian
The Brown Spectator
The Buchtel Helm (University of Akron)
California Review (University of California, San Diego)
California Review of Berkeley
Campus Review (University of Iowa)
The Carleton Observer
The Carolina Critic (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
The Crucible (University of Chicago)
The Claremont Independent
The Cornell Review
The Dartmouth
Dialogue at Norte Dame
The Duke Review
Eli (Yale University)
The Federalist Paper (Columbia University)
The Fenwick Review (Holy Cross College)
Florida Review (University of Florida)
The Galenstone (Wellesley College)
The Harvard Salient
Hopkins Spectator
Illini Review
The Independent
Perspective (Florida State University)
The Iowa State Examiner
The Kenyon Observer
The Michigan Review
The Minuteman (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)
Northwestern Review
The Oberlin Forum
Observer of Boston College
The Opposite Shore (Smith College)
Oregon Commentator
Peninsula (Harvard University)
The Perspective (Radford College)
The Primary Source (Tufts University)
The Princeton Sentinel
The Princeton Tory
The Red and Blue(University of Pennsylvania)
The Redwood Review (University of California, Santa Cruz)
The Remnant (William and Mary College)
The Rice Sentinel
Rutgers Free Press
The Stanford Review

The State Critic (North Carolina State University)
University Review of Texas
The UWM Times
Vassar Spectator
The Virginia Advocate
Washington and Lee Spectator
The Washington Spectator
Weekly Independent
(University of Wisconsin — Whitewater)
The Weslyan Review
Wheaton Patriot
The Williams Observer
The Yale Free Press
The Yale Political Monthly

Source: *Annual Report*, Madison Center for Educational Affairs. 1990, 8.

The Campus Journals Network of the Center for National Policy

The Argus (Wesleyan University)
The Augle (Arizona State University)
Brown Foreign Affairs Journal
The Catalyst
(University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
Common Sense (Dartmouth College)
Consensus (Boston College)
Consider (University of Michigan)
Foresight Publications
(University of Texas at Austin)
The Forum (University of Miami)
G.W. Journal (George Washington University)
The Harvard Perspective
Illini Journal
Impact (Northwestern University)
The Lariat (Baylor University)
Massachusetts Free Press
(University of Massachusetts at Amherst)
Modern Times (Columbia University)
n (Northwestern University)
The Periscope (Vanderbilt University)
The Principle (Brown University)
Prism (Amherst College)
Washington Ripple (Washington University)

Source: Susan Dodge, "Many Liberal Campus Publications Understaffed and Short of Funds," *Chronicle of Higher Education*. May 9, 1990, A37.

Appendix C: Statements on "Political Correctness"

American Association of University Professors, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Suite 500, Washington, DC 20005 202/737-5900. Reprinted in full with permission from *Academe: Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, September/October 1991, 48.

Statement on the "Political Correctness" Controversy

The statement which follows was issued in July 1991 by a special committee appointed by the president of the Association.

In recent months, critics have accused American higher education of submitting to the alleged domination of exponents of "political correctness." Their assault has involved sloganeering, name-calling, the irresponsible use of anecdotes, and not infrequently the assertion that "political correctness" is the new McCarthyism that is chilling the climate of debate on campus and subjecting political dissenters to the threat of reprisal. For all its self-righteous verve, this attack has frequently been less than candid about its actual origin, which appears to lie in an only partly concealed animosity toward equal opportunity and its first effects of modestly increasing the participation of women and racial and cultural minorities on campus.

The American Association of University Professors finds no contradiction between its founding principle of academic freedom and its longstanding policy in support of affirmative action and equal opportunity. We do, of course, acknowledge that there are legitimate divergences of opinion regarding the best means for securing access to higher education for students of diverse backgrounds and increasing the representation of heretofore underrepresented classes in the ranks of college and university faculties.

Charges of "political correctness," however, have a way of taking on their own coercive tone. Likewise, charges that certain persons are being damaged by a new version of McCarthyism ignore the very real differences between the aggressions against individual rights systematically carried out by an arm of Congress and the haphazard, sometimes heated, and not infrequently cantankerous disagreements that inevitably attend the exchange of opinions on campus. While alert to the possibility that one party may be made to feel uncomfortable for views not regarded as "politically correct," the Association would also point out that others have suffered gender- or racially-based forms of insensitivity. Especially irresponsible are suggestions by some commentators that feminist and minority groups are

themselves chiefly responsible for the attacks directed against them.

Throughout its history, the Association has formulated and defended the ground rules that ensure free debate in the academy. In adjudicating or investigating specific complaints by faculty members, it proceeds not anecdotally but through the collection of as many relevant facts as possible and the separation of documentably serious infringements on academic freedom from other episodes that may cause transitory discomfort. It does not believe that the ends of reasoned debate are secured by premature recourse to headline-grabbing or attempt to construct, on the basis of disconnected anecdotes, a case that a monolithic form of thought control is now sweeping American campuses.

We remind all parties that some discomfort is an inevitable consequence of a climate of give-and-take on campus, especially when the subjects of disagreement are sensitive issues of race, gender, or ethnicity. But demonstrable personal harm or abridgment of academic due process may occur as a result of the inflammation of the campus climate by allegations of either political correctness or incorrectness. In all such cases the AAUP stands ready to defend the integrity of university personnel processes and the role of appropriately composed faculty bodies in academic decision-making and review.

The Special Committee

Mary W. Gray (Mathematics),
American University

Lawrence S. Poston (English)
University of Illinois at Chicago

Carol Simpson Stern (Interpretation)
Northwestern University

Paul Strohm (English)
Indiana University

11. Modern Language Association, 10 Astor Place, New York, NY 10002 212/475-9500. Reprinted in full, with permission, from the May 1991 Executive Council statement.

Statement on the Curriculum Debate

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has noted with dismay the recent appearance of a number of books and articles that decry "political correctness" on American campuses. These texts charge that teachers of language and literature, with the support of the MLA, are eliminating the classics of Western civilization from the curriculum and making certain attitudes toward race, class, gender, sexual orientation, or political affiliation the sole measure of a text's value. Some teachers, it is said, intimidate colleagues who do not comply with their own political agendas, and they subvert reason, truth, and artistic standards in order to impose crude ideological dogmas on students. Normally, the MLA Executive Council would not comment on the approaches members use in their scholarly work or classrooms; however, recent statements about the association and its members call for a response.

What are the facts? The Modern Language Association, a century-old learned society, consists of almost 30,000 college and university scholars and teachers of the modern languages and literatures who represent a wide spectrum of histories, interests, scholarly methodologies, and approaches to teaching. In view of their great diversity, it is unreasonable to suggest that they are imposing a monolithic ideology on the college curriculum. Over the last decade, many have introduced new writers and raised new issues in their courses, and there is a lively debate within the field about the proper scope and focus of literary and language studies. But this debate is scarcely unprecedented; it is an extension of the legitimate process that has always made the college curriculum in the United States responsive to the changing interests of society and the changing shape of intellectual disciplines.

What is most disturbing in the attacks against the MLA and individual members is the persistent resort to misrepresentation and false labeling. While loudly invoking rational debate, open discussion, and responsible scholarship, these attacks distort evidence and reduce complex issues to slogans and name-calling. Furthermore, they fail to acknowledge the many differences in philosophical and other positions represented among proponents for curricular change who, whether or not one agrees with them, are raising important questions about culture, language, and society.

Far from having discarded the established canon, most teachers of literature and language today continue to teach the traditional works of Western culture, even as a growing number introduce new or neglected works of Western and other cultures. Instead of attacking traditional works on political grounds, these teachers are reenlivening the study of literature and language by raising challenging questions from new perspectives. Contrary to the charge that such questions and perspectives debase standards, they have stimulated students to think more critically, rigorously, and creatively.

Changes in what we teach our students have never been free of controversy. In this context, it is useful to recall that the Modern Language Association arose in 1883 precisely out of such controversy—the opposition to adding the teaching of English and other modern languages and literatures to a curriculum dominated by Greek and Latin. The teaching

of American literature, as distinct from English literature, evolved after World War I out of a similar dispute, in which many claimed that educational standards were being sacrificed to popular taste. And fifty years ago, there was strong resistance to the introduction into literature classes of writers like Joyce, Woolf, Kafka, Garc°a Lorca, and Faulkner.

Literature has always been a theater of contention over social, aesthetic, and ethical values, and so has the study of literature and language. Recent changes in our culture have intensified these concerns in ways that need to be discussed in a spirit of mutual respect. The Modern Language Association will do everything it can to make the current controversy—at the moment so acrimonious—fruitful and genuinely educational.

Executive Council
Modern Language Association
May 1991

Appendix D: National Endowment for the Humanities Funding for Projects on Women, Gender, and Feminism and Projects Related to Ethnic Studies in the U.S.

As the largest source of federal funding for the humanities, the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) has played a critical role in the development of research and teaching in women's studies and ethnic studies, which have developed primarily in humanities fields in the United States over the last twenty years. The following figures show the level of NEH funding in 1991-92 for projects on women, gender, and feminism in all divisions, as well as for projects on women, gender, and feminism, and on ethnic studies in the Research Division.

In 1991-92, funding of projects on women, gender, and feminism averaged approximately 2% of the total NEH Division of Research budget. Funding of projects related to ethnic studies in the U.S. made up 12% of the Division of Research budget.

All Divisions 1991-92 (obligated)

# women / # total projects	164 / 2,199
W$ / total$ (in millions)	$2.9 / $159
W$ as % of total$	2%

Division of Research Programs 1991-92 (funded)

# women/# total projects	8 / 248
W$ / total$ (in millions)	$.37 / $1.8
W$ as % of total$	2%
# ethnic / # total projects	25 / 248
E$ / total$ (in millions)	$2.1 / $18.21
E$ as % of total$	12%

Appendix E: Representation of People of Color and Women on Campus

Students of Color

Throughout the 1980s, enrollment and participation in post-secondary education grew slowly but steadily for all minority groups in the United States. From 1988 to 1990, when overall enrollment in United States colleges and universities increased 5.1 percent, the numbers of white students increased 3.8 percent, while racial minorities posted a 10 percent gain (Carter and Wilson 1991: 11). Despite overall increases in the numbers of minority students enrolled in postsecondary institutions, the extent of increased enrollment varied among African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and American Indians, as well as between men and women within those groups.

College Participation Rates

United States minority students are still far from reaching the college participation rates of white students (Carter and Wilson 1991; Mangan 1992). In 1990, 32.5 percent of all white college-aged students (18 to 24 years old) were enrolled in higher education, as compared to 25.4 percent of all African American and 15.8 percent of all Hispanic American students (Carter and Wilson 1991: 8). Of over nine million students enrolled in college in 1990, there were 1,223,000 African Americans, 758,000 Hispanic Americans, 555,000 Asian Americans, and 103,000 American Indians (Collison 1992b: A1). (For information on organizations working to increase minority presence in academe, see Appendices F and G.)

Although minority students now represent approximately one-fifth of the total enrollment in higher education, the growth in minority enrollment is tenuous (Carter and Wilson 1991; Mangan 1992). Too many minority students must still depend on the availability of affirmative action programs and financial support to enter college and remain to earn

a degree. A 1990 survey of 359 United States colleges and universities by the American Council on Education found that over half of those surveyed offered minority-designated scholarships. Fully 85 percent of those said that the money was either "very important" or "somewhat important" in recruiting and retaining minority students (El-Khawas 1991: 18-19).

Of all minority groups on American campuses, American Indians are the least represented, totaling less than 1 percent of all students in higher education (Collison 1992b: A35). In 1990, approximately 12,000 American Indian students, representing 60 percent of the American Indian population in higher education, attended one of 27 tribal community colleges in the United States.

Degrees Conferred

Enrollment rates reflect one aspect of the status of students of color in higher education: graduation rates reflect another. William Celis reported in *The New York Times* that of all bachelor's degrees awarded in 1990, 84.3 percent went to whites (who comprise 84.8 percent of the adult population); 5.8 percent went to African Americans (who comprise 11.3 percent of the adult population); 3.1 percent went to Hispanic Americans (who comprise 8.4 percent of the adult population); and 3.7 percent went to Asian Americans (who comprise 3 percent of the adult population) (Celis 1993b: A17). Not included in Celis's figures are American Indians, reported by the American Council on Education as graduating with .4 percent of the bachelor's degrees awarded in 1989 (Carter and Wilson 1991: 48).

Historically black colleges and universities, which enroll 18 percent of all African American students, continued to produce the highest number of degrees among African Americans throughout the 1980s, graduating 40 percent of their students (Farrell 1992: 10). Of the top twenty institutions producing the greatest number of undergraduate degrees for African Americans from 1988 to 1989, for example, all but three were historically black colleges and universities (*Black Issues in Higher Education* 1992: 16-17).

Overall minority participation in graduate education in the United States has remained modest. African Americans experienced an overall decrease in doctorates awarded in the ten years between 1980 and 1990, while other groups saw increases. Of 25,221 doctorates awarded to United States citizens in 1980, 21,933 went to whites, 1,032 went to African Americans, 412 went to Hispanic Americans, 458 went to Asian Americans, and 75 went to American Indians. In 1990, of the 24,190 doctorates awarded to United States citizens, 828 went to African Americans, 700 went to Hispanic Americans, 617 went to Asian Americans, and 94 went to American Indians (Carter and Wilson 1991: 59).

Minority Employment

Figures for minority employment in higher education in the 1980s show an overall gain, the rise due primarily to an increase in the overall number of positions available. The actual percentages of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and American Indians in university employment have shown little change: between 1979 and 1989, their collective share of full-time positions increased 2.6 percent, from 17.7 percent to 20.3 percent. While minorities continue to be under-represented in all but the lowest levels of higher education employment, each racial/ethnic group fared differently in the last ten years: African Americans and American Indians maintained a consistent share of minority academic employment; Hispanic Americans experienced slight increases; and Asian Americans made rapid increases (Carter and Wilson 1991: 21).

From 1979, when minorities held 4.3 percent of all full-time faculty positions, to 1989, when they held 4.5 percent, the number of full-time positions occupied by minority faculty nationwide increased .2 percent. Minorities continue to be clustered in support and maintenance sectors, hold fewer numbers of academic-level positions, advance less quickly, and remain concentrated at lower ends of the academic ladder, as evidenced by low tenure rates (Carter and Wilson 1991: 22, 31).

African Americans

Nearly 85 percent of African Americans employed in higher education work in clerical, support, or maintenance positions, constituting the majority (63.3 percent) of all university service workers. The majority of African Americans employed in universities are women, 88 percent of whom work in support positions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 23). Close to 50 percent of all full-time African American faculty teach at historically black colleges and universities; at predominantly white institutions, only 2.3 percent of the faculty are African American. Among all minority groups, African Americans are the only group with comparable numbers of male and female full-time faculty—with slightly more men (53.7 percent) than women (Carter and Wilson 1991: 22). In the 1980s, the percentage of tenure-track African American faculty who received tenure showed little overall increase (in 1989, 58.6 percent for African American women and 62.9 percent for African American men) (Carter and Wilson 1991: 23). The percentage of African American women in management positions rose from 2.9 percent in 1979 to 4.2 percent in 1989, while the percentage of African American men in management positions

remained about the same (4.5 percent in 1979 and 4.4 percent in 1989) (Carter and Wilson 1991: 23). According to a 1986 American Council on Education report, African Americans represented 4.6 percent of all United States college and university presidents (heading 2 percent of predominantly white institutions), with the figure rising to 5 percent of all higher education institutions in the United States by 1991 (Carter and Wilson 1991: 24).

Hispanic Americans

Of all Hispanic Americans employed at colleges and universities in the United States, approximately 80 percent work in clerical support or maintenance positions. In 1989, close to 87 percent of Hispanic American women employed in higher education held support positions, as did 74.5 percent of Hispanic American men (Carter and Wilson 1991: 24). Despite a 49 percent gain in faculty positions by Hispanic Americans from 1979 to 1989, Hispanic Americans held 2 percent of all faculty positions (and 1.3 percent of full professorships) in 1989, with Hispanic American men holding nearly 75 percent of those positions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 24). Hispanics held 2.3 percent of administrative and management positions in 1989, with men outnumbering women 1,860 to 1,323. In 1991, Hispanic Americans headed close to 3 percent of all post-secondary institutions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 26).

Asian Americans

Asian American employment in higher education increased from 2.3 percent in 1979 to 3.6 percent in 1989 (Carter and Wilson 1991: 27). The largest gain for any ethnic group, this increase outpaced the growth of the total higher education labor force. Moreover, of all ethnic and minority groups, only among Asian Americans did men outnumber women in total higher education employment. Similar to other minority groups, however, 79 percent of Asian American women employed in higher education work in clerical, non-faculty, and non-administrative positions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 28). In 1989, Asian Americans comprised the largest minority at the faculty level, holding 4.7 percent of all full-time professor positions, an increase of 2.9 percent from 1979. During the 1980s, the number of Asian American women faculty increased at a faster rate than Asian American men, but Asian American men continue to outnumber their female counterparts in full-time faculty positions by almost four to one (Carter and Wilson 1991: 28). Asian Americans increased their share of management positions from .9 percent in 1979 to 1.4 percent in 1989, with men outnumbering women by almost 50 percent. Reflecting their overall under-representation in higher education administration, however, in 1991 Asian Americans headed approximately .5 percent of United States colleges and universities (Carter and Wilson 1991: 29).

American Indians

In 1989, American Indians held .4 percent of all full-time university positions, three-quarters of which were clustered in clerical, service, or maintenance positions. American Indian women held 85 percent of these service, clerical, or maintenance positions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 26). Although the number of American Indians holding faculty positions increased 41.9 percent between 1979 and 1989, American Indians still represented only .3 percent of all full-time faculty positions (Carter and Wilson 1991: 26, 27). In addition, American Indian men outnumber women by almost two to one in faculty positions. In 1989, only 147 American Indian female faculty were tenured, as compared to 471 American Indian male faculty (Carter and Wilson 1991: 27). American Indians held .4 percent of full-time management positions in 1989, an increase of one-tenth of a percentage point from 1979. Men continued to outnumber women in these positions, though recent statistics point toward a narrowing gap. In 1986, American Indians headed .1 percent of college and universities, and according to the American Council on Education, of the 31 American Indian college presidents in 1991, nearly all headed tribally-controlled colleges (Carter and Wilson 1991: 27).

Women Students

Since 1987, women have comprised 55 percent of the student population on United States campuses, outnumbering men by more than one million. Growth in the rate of enrollment since 1989 stood at 3.7 percent for women and 2.6 percent for men (United States Department of Education 1991: 1). Women of color saw more dramatic enrollment increases than white women: 8.7 percent for African American, 11.9 percent for Hispanic American, 13.1 percent Asian American, and 13.2 percent for American Indian women students compared to 6.1 percent for white women students from 1988 to 1990 (Carter and Wilson 1991: 44). (For information on organizations working to increase women's representation on campus, see Appendices F and G.)

In 1991, women earned 586,116 baccalaureate degrees, compared to men's 497,950 (United States Department of Education 1991: 12). Women earned 180,005 master's degrees compared to men's 156,667 (United States Department of Education 1991: 13). However, men earned 13,764 (close to 60 percent) of the 24,190 doctorate degrees awarded to United States citizens in 1990. Of the 10,426

doctorates awarded to women that year, 9,266 went to white women, 508 to African American women, 327 to Hispanic American women, 206 to Asian American women, and 45 to American Indian women. African American women were the only women to earn more doctorates than the men of their group, receiving 188 more degrees than African American men (Carter and Wilson 1991: 59). More recent figures indicate that women make up more than half of all college students and receive 36 percent of the 38,000 doctorates awarded annually (DePalma 1993a).

Women's Employment on Campus

Between 1979 and 1989, the numbers of women employed in higher education increased so rapidly that by 1989 over half of the people employed in higher education were female. In 1992 women comprised 27.6 percent of all faculty members and 11.6 percent of the nation's full professors (DePalma 1993a). A small percentage of those women who are full professors are women of color. In 1989, of 19,411 women full professors, 17,460 were white; of the 1,951 minority women full professors, 998 were African Americans, 349 Hispanic Americans, 556 Asian Americans, and 48 American Indians (Carter and Wilson 1991: 65).

In both faculty and administrative positions, men continue to outnumber women and receive higher salaries for comparable jobs. The more prestigious the institution and the higher the rank, the fewer the women in them (DePalma 1993a). In 1989, according to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's National Survey of Faculty, male faculty outnumbered female faculty 13 to 1 at research institutions and 3.5 to 1 at liberal arts colleges. In 1992, women made up 20 percent of faculty members at the nation's most selective universities and 38 percent of all faculty positions at community colleges (DePalma 1993a).

From 1979 to 1989, the number of female administrators grew dramatically—by 80.7 percent—so that by 1989, women held approximately 40 percent of all administrative positions. Of those, women of color held 5 percent: African American women 4.2 percent, Hispanic American women 1 percent, Asian American women .6 percent, and American Indian women .1 percent (Carter and Wilson 1991: 69). These figures represent increases for minority women administrators between 1979 and 1989—that range from a 209.8 percent increase for Hispanic American women to a 106.2 percent increase for African American women (Carter and Wilson 1991: 69).

Between 1975 and 1992, the number of women college and university presidents more than doubled (from 148 to 348), raising the percentage of the nation's 3,000 institutions headed by women from 5 to 12 percent. The number of female presidents at public institutions increased from 16 in 1975 to 164 in 1992. During the same period, the number of female presidents at private schools rose from 132 to 184 (Touchton and Davis 1991).

Minority women represented 14 percent of women presidents in 1992. Of 348 women college presidents in 1992, fifty were women of color: 26 African American, 17 Hispanic American, 2 Asian American women, and 5 American Indian (American Council on Education 1992: 3).

Appendix F: National Council for Research on Women Member Centers

American Association of University Women
Educational Foundation
2401 Virginia Avenue, NW
5th floor
Washington DC 20037
202/728-7603

American Council on Education
Office of Women in Higher Education
One Dupont Circle
Washington DC 20036-1193
202/939-9390

University of Arizona
Southwest Institute for Research on Women
Douglass Building, Room 102
Garden Level
Tucson AZ 85721
602/621-7338

Arizona State University
Women's Studies Program
College of Liberal Arts
Tempe AZ 85287
602/965-2358

Association of American Colleges
Project on the Status and Education of Women
1818 R Street, NW
Washington DC 20009
202/387-1300

Barnard College
Barnard Center for Research on Women
3009 Broadway
Room 101, Barnard Hall
New York NY 10027
212/854-2067

Brown University
Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research
on Women
Box 1958
Providence RI 02912
401/863-2643

Business and Professional Women's Clubs
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20036-1070
202/293-1100

University of California, Berkeley
Beatrice M. Bain Research Group
2539 Channing Way, Room 21
Berkeley CA 94720
510/643-7172

University of California, Davis
Women's Resources and Research Center
10 Lower Freeborn Hall
Davis CA 95616
916/752-3372

University of California, Los Angeles
Center for the Study of Women
405 Hilgard Avenue
236A Kinsey Hall
Los Angeles CA 90064
213/825-0590

University of California, Los Angeles
Higher Education Research Institute
320 Moore Hall
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles CA 90024-1521
213/825-2709

University of California, Santa Cruz
Feminist Studies Focused Research Activity
178 Kresge
Santa Cruz CA 95064
408/459-4052

Catalyst
250 Park Avenue South
New York NY 10003-1459
212/777-8900

Center for Women Policy Studies
2000 P Street, NW
Suite 508
Washington DC 20036
202/872-1770

University of Cincinnati
Center for Women's Studies
Research and Resource Institute
155 McMicken Hall
Cincinnati OH 45221-0164
513/556-6657

City University of New York
Graduate School Center for the Study of Women
and Society
33 West 42nd Street
New York NY 10036
212/642-2954

Columbia University
Institute for Research on Women and Gender
763 Schermerhorn Extension
New York NY 10027
212/854-1556

University of Connecticut
Institute for the Study of Women and Gender
U-181
Stoors CT 06268-1181
203/486-2186

Cornell University
Institute for Women and Work
New York School of Industrial
and Labor Relations
15 East 26th Street, 4th floor
New York NY 10010
212/340-2800

Duke University/University of North Carolina
Center for Research on Women
207 East Duke Building
Durham NC 27708
919/684-6641

Equity Policy Center
2000 P Street, NW, #508
Washington DC 20036
202/872-1770

The Feminist Press
at the City University of New York
311 East 94th Street
New York NY 10128
212/360-5790

George Washington University
Women's Studies Program and Policy Center
2201 G Street, NW
Washington DC 20184
202/944-6942

Girls Incorporated
National Resource Center
441 West Michigan Street
Indianapolis IN 46202
317/634-7546

Hartford College for Women
Women's Research Institute
260 Girard Avenue
Hartford CT 06105
203/233-5662

Higher Education Resource Services,
Mid-America
University of Denver,
Colorado Women's College Campus
7150 Montview Boulevard
Denver CO 80220
303/871-6866

Higher Education Resource Services,
New England
Wellesley College, Cheever House
828 Washington Street
Wellesley MA 02181
617/235-0320

Higher Education Resource Services, West
Women's Center
University of Utah
Salt Lake City UT 84117
801/581-8030

Hunter College
Center for the Study of Family Policy
695 Park Avenue
Room E1209C
New York NY 10021-5085
212/772-4450

Institute for Women's Policy Research
1400 20th Street, NW, Suite 104
Washington DC 20036
202/785-5100

International Center for Research on Women
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 302
Washington DC 20036
202/797-0007

Kent State University
Project on the Study of Gender and Education
College of Education, 405 White Hall
Kent OH 44242
216/672-2178

Memphis State University
Center for Research on Women
Clement Hall
Memphis TN 38152
901/678-2770

University of Michigan
Center for Education of Women
330 East Liberty
Ann Arbor MI 48104-2289
313/998-7080

University of Minnesota
Center for Advanced Feminist Studies
492 Ford Hall, 224 Church Street, SE
Minneapolis MN 55455
612/624-6310

University of Minnesota
Humphrey Institute Center on
Women and Public Policy
301 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis MN 55455
612/625-3409

Mount Holyoke College
Five College Women's Studies Research Center
Dickinson House
South Hadley MA 01004-1075
413/538-2156

National Association for Women in Education
1325 Eighteenth Street, NW
Suite 210
Washington DC 20036
202/659-9330

National Women's Studies Association
University of Maryland, College Park
3311 E Art/Sociology Building
College Park MD 20742-1325
301/405-5573

NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Project on Equal Education Rights
99 Hudson Street
12th Floor
New York NY 10013
212/925-6635

The Ohio State University
Center for Women's Studies
207 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue
Columbus OH 43210-1311
614/292-1021

University of Oregon
Center for the Study of Women in Society
636 Prince Lucien Campbell Hall
Eugene OR 97403
503/346-5015

University of Pennsylvania
Alice Paul Center for the Study of Women
106 Logan Hall, CN
Philadelphia PA 19104
215/898-8740

Radcliffe College
Mary Ingraham Bunting Institute
Radcliffe Research and Study Center
34 Concord Avenue
Cambridge MA 02138
617/495-8212

Radcliffe College
Henry A. Murray Research Center
10 Garden Street
Cambridge MA 02138
617/495-8140

Radcliffe College
The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library
10 Garden Street
Cambridge MA 02138
617/495-8647

Rutgers University
Center for the American Woman and Politics
Eagleton Institute
Woodlawn
New Brunswick NJ 08901
908/828-2210

Rutgers University
Center for Women's Global Leadership
Douglass College
27 Clifton Avenue
New Brunswick NJ 08903
908/932-8782

Rutgers University
Institute for Research on Women
Douglass College
27 Clifton Avenue
New Brunswick NJ 08903-0270
201/932-9072

Rutgers University
Institute for Women's Leadership
Douglass College
27 Clifton Avenue
New Brunswick NJ 08901-1529
908/932-1463

Smith College
Project on Women and Social Change
138 Elm Street
Northampton MA 01063
413/584-2700

University of Southern California
Institute for the Study of Women
and Men in Society
Louise Kerckhoff Hall
734 West Adams Boulevard
Los Angeles CA 90007
213/743-3683

Spelman College
Women's Resource and Research Center
Box 115
350 Spelman Lane
Atlanta GA 30311
404/681-3643

College of St. Catherine
Abigail Quigley McCarthy Center for Women
2004 Randolph Avenue
Mail # 4150
St. Paul MN 55105
612/690-6736

Stanford University
Institute for Research on Women and Gender
Serra House
Stanford CA 94305-6905
415/723-1994

State University of New York at Albany
Center for Women in Government
135 Western Avenue,
Draper Hall Room 302
Albany NY 12222
518/442-3900

State University of New York at Albany
Institute for Research on Women
Social Sciences 324
Albany NY 12222
518/442-4670

State University of New York at Binghamton
The Sojourner Center for Women's Studies
Binghampton NY 13901
607/777-2815

State University of New York at Buffalo
Graduate Group for Feminist Studies
c/o Law School, North Campus
Buffalo NY 14260
716/636-2361/2108

Towson State University
Institute for Teaching and Research on Women
Towson MD 21204-7097
301/830-2334

Tulane University
Newcomb College Center for Research on Women
New Orleans LA 70118-5683
504/865-5238

The Union Institute
The Center for Women
1731 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20009-1146
202/667-1313

Upper Midwest Women's History Center
Central Community Center
6300 Walker Street
St. Louis Park MN 55416
612/925-3632

Urban Institute
Program of Policy Research on
Women and Families
2100 M Street, NW
Washington DC 20037
202/857-8564

Utah State University
Women and Gender Research Institute
College of Natural Resources
Logan UT 84322-5200
801/750-2580

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Women's Research Institute
10 Sandy Hall
Blacksburg VA 24061-0338
703/231-7615

University of Washington
Northwest Center for Research on Women
Cunningham Hall, AJ-50
Seattle WA 98195
206/543-9531

Washington State University
Women's Resource and Research Center
Washington State University
Pullman WA 99164-7204
509/335-6830

Wellesley College
Center for Research on Women
828 Washington Street
Wellesley MA 02181
617/431-1453

University of Wisconsin, Madison
Women's Studies Research Center
209 North Brooks Street
Madison WI 53715
608/263-2051

Women's Interart Center
549 West 52nd Street
New York NY 10019
212/246-1050

The Women's Research and Education Institute
1700 18th Street, NW, #400
Washington DC 20009
202/328-7070

Young Women's Christian Association
of the U.S.A.
726 Broadway
New York NY 10003
212/614-2700

Appendix G: Selected Guides and Resources for Integrating Women of Color into the Curriculum

Andersen, Margaret L. and Patricia Hill Collins.
1992. *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology.* Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company. A collection of essays on developing inclusive patterns of thinking; conceptualizing race, class, and gender; rethinking societal institutions; and social change and the politics of empowerment.

University of Arizona
Southwest Center for Research on Women (SIROW), Douglass Building, Room 102, Garden Level, Tucson, AZ 85721 602/621-7338. Serves as a center for information and referral within the Southwest and a source of information on the region's research for the rest of the country. The *Integrating Minority Women into the Liberal Arts Curriculum* project, co-sponsored by SIROW and the Mexican American Studies Research Center, focused on revision of high-enrollment courses with faculty from six universities. Participating librarians compiled listings of available material on women of color, including audio-visual materials, successful course syllabi, and teaching units.

Banks, James A.
1991. *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies.* Fifth edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. An overview of goals, concepts, and planning strategies for developing a multicultural curriculum.

Barnard College, Center for Research on Women
3009 Broadway at 117th Street, New York, NY 10027 212/854-2067. The *Program on Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies* developed twelve new First Year Seminars and substantially revised others to incorporate the new scholarship on minority women into the curriculum.

Border, Laura L.B. and Nancy V.N. Chism, Eds.
1992. *Teaching for Diversity: New Directions for Teaching and Learning, #49.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Focuses on how to improve teaching and learning in multicultural classrooms by examining communication styles, classroom interaction patterns, faculty development programs, and administrative strategies.

Butler, Johnella E. and John C. Walter, Eds.
1991. *Transforming the Curriculum: Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies.* Albany: State University of New York Press. Focuses on the interrelationship of ethnic studies and women's studies. Includes models for curriculum transformation and theorizing on teaching the intersections of race and gender.

University of California at Los Angeles, Center for the Study of Women
236A Kinsey Hall, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024 213/825-0590. A regional model, the *Ford Ethnic Women's Curriculum Transformation Project (FEW)* focused on revision of existing syllabi in targeted lower and upper division courses; development of new courses in departmental majors, ethnic studies programs, women's studies, and the core curriculum; participation and training of graduate students; and development and dissemination of a bibliographic database and film video materials about African American, Hispanic, American Indian, and Asian American women.

Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning
American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), 1319 Eighteenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/296-6267. September/October 1991. *Diversity on Campus.* January/February 1992. *The Curriculum and Multiculturalism.* Two special issues contain articles on political correctness, the media, the curriculum, gender and ethnic studies, faculty development, student life, campus ethos, and the results of a national survey.

Columbia University, Institute for Research on Women and Gender
763 Schermerhorn, New York, NY 10027 212/854-3277. The project on *The Integration of Scholarship on Minority Women in the Undergraduate Curriculum* involved senior faculty and focused on revision of six widely-subscribed courses in the social sciences and humanities. The project developed a bibliographic database and provided research assistance, offered undergraduate research prizes and summer research grants to faculty teaching targeted courses.

Duke University/University of North Carolina, Center for Research on Women
207 East Duke Building, Durham, NC 27708 919/684-6641. The project on *Integrating Women of Color Into the Liberal Arts Curriculum* focused on development of syllabi to integrate race and gender into existing introductory courses at Duke and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; promoted collaboration between Women's Studies and Afro-American Studies; and developed resources to encourage curriculum revision efforts in the tri-state region of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Feminist Teacher
Indiana University, 442 Ballantine, Bloomington, IN 47405 812/855-5597. Published three times a year by a collective for traditional and nontraditional teachers, preschool through graduate school; articles focus on the dynamics of feminist pedagogy.

Fiol-Matta, Liza, Mariam Chamberlain, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall.
In press. *Women of Color in the Curriculum* (tentative title). New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York. Contains syllabi and resources from the Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies Program.

George Washington University, Women's Studies Program and Policy Center
217 Funger Hall, Washington, DC 20052 202/994-6942. The project on *Women of Color In the Liberal Arts Curriculum* involved twenty-six faculty in revision of basic undergraduate liberal arts courses and developed a bibliographic database of books, articles, films, and video resources.

Green, Madeline, Ed.
1989. *Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity.* Washington, DC: American Council on Education. A handbook that identifies principles institutions can adopt in order to address diversity successfully. Also profiles successful programs, strategies, and resources.

Green, Rayna.
1983. *Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press. Contains annotated bibliographic references to a wide variety of sources, divided by subject category, on Native American women.

Integrating Video into Diversity Courses: An Annotated Bibliography. Lists a wide range of films and videos that explore social diversity and group heritage, many of which concern women of color. Available from the American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, IL 60611 312/944-6780, or from the State University of New York at Albany, College of Humanities and Fine Arts, Edith O. Wallace Humanities Building, Room 310, Albany, NY 12222 518/442-4010.

Memphis State University, Center for Research on Women,
Clement Hall, Memphis, TN 38152 901/678-2770. Founded in 1982, conducts, disseminates, and promotes research in women's studies focusing on Southern women and women of color—African American, Asian American, Latina, and Native American—in the United States. Publishes *Women of Color and Southern Women: A Bibliography of Social Science Research, 1975-1988* and *Annual Supplements* to the bibliography. Publishes bibliographies and working papers on advancements in curriculum transformation through *The Research Clearinghouse and Curriculum Integration Project on Women of Color and Southern Women.* Also maintains a computerized information-retrieval service that provides complete citations of social science and historical works on Southern women and women of color. The *Integrating Women of Color into the Curriculum* project supported efforts to integrate race and gender into general education courses and Memphis State University's new core educational requirements.

Metropolitan State University, Women's Program,
Suite 121, Metro Square Building, St. Paul, MN 55101-2189 612/296-3875. The project on *Incorporating Feminist Scholarship Concerning Gender and Cultural Diversity Into the Curriculum* involved faculty at six colleges and universities in four minority women's studies institutes and other consortial activities. The project also supported individual campus faculty development seminars, bibliographic development, conferences, resource-sharing, and outreach to administrators at other Minnesota colleges and universities.

Morgen, Sandra.
1989. *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching.* Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association. A guide to readings about Native American women and Third World women, contains sample syllabi and models for integrating gender into undergraduate anthropology courses.

Musil, Caryn McTighe, Ed.
1992. *The Courage to Question: Women's Studies and Student Learning.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges. Assesses the contribution of women's studies in terms of the knowledge base, pedagogy, critical skills development, and personal growth. Based on case studies from women's studies programs at seven colleges and universities.

The National Council for Research on Women.
1991. *Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies Program.* New York: The National Council for Research on Women. Contains liberal arts curriculum integration models from the thirteen participating institutions in the Ford Foundation's Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies program. Launched in 1989, the program was designed to enable the following women's research centers to collaborate with minority scholars and racial-ethnic studies programs in planning and implementing projects to incorporate research and teaching about women of color into undergraduate curricula. In collaboration with The Feminst Press, the program will publish a volume of course syllabi and other curriculum resources from project participants. The following institutions participated in the Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies Program: University of Arizona; Barnard College; University of California, Los Angeles; Columbia University; Duke University/University of North Carolina; George Washington University; Memphis State University; Metropolitan State University; City University of New York Graduate School and University Center; University at Albany, State University of New York; University of Oregon; and the University of Wisconsin — Madison.

The New Jersey Project,
William Paterson College, White Hall 315, Wayne, NJ 07470 201/595-2296. Funded by the New Jersey Department of Education since 1986, is the first statewide curriculum transformation project in the United States. Creates, collects, and disseminates teaching materials, bibliographies, and scholarly literature. The Project's journal, *Transformations*, published semi-annually since 1990, is available from Sylvia Baer, The New Jersey Project, Gloucester County College, Deptford Township, Tanyard Road, R.R. #4, Box 203, Sewell, NJ 08080.

The City University of New York Graduate School and University Center, Center for the Study of Women and Society, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036 212/642-2954. *Infusing Women of Color into the Liberal Arts Curriculum of the CUNY Senior Colleges: A Collaborative Outreach Project* was designed to encourage a substantial number of faculty at the ten senior colleges of the City University of New York to include material by and about minority women in introductory courses. The project launched an ongoing network to support continued faculty outreach activities and a newsletter containing faculty members' teaching experiences and curriculum suggestions.

State University of New York at Albany, Institute for Research on Women, Social Sciences 324, Albany, New York 12222 518/442-4670. The Institute and the Center for Latin America and the Caribbean co-sponsored the project on *Incorporating Puerto Rican Women Into the Curriculum and Research*, which involved 60 SUNY faculty members in revision or creation of courses to include issues of class, race, and gender. Project activities included a faculty development seminar, a public conference, a lecture series on Puerto Rican women, publication of research guides and resource materials on Puerto Rican women, faculty exchanges with the University of Puerto Rico, and establishment of a computerized database on Latin American and Caribbean women (LACS WOMENET) that provides bibliographic research information on Puerto Rican women.

The Ohio State University, Center for Women's Studies, 207 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 614/292-1021. Promotes and disseminates feminist scholarship on women and gender. Conducts research on feminist pedagogy and on African, African American and Latina women.

University of Oregon, Center for the Study of Women in Society, Eugene, OR 97403 503/686-5015. *A University for Everyone*, designed for an ethnically homogenous campus, focused on supporting implementation of the University's newly-revised general education requirement that students take one course on race, gender, or non-European cultures. Project activities included faculty development workshops, lectures, development of a curriculum integration library collection, and a university-wide convocation.

University of Puerto Rico, Cayey Campus, Proyecto Estudios De La Mujer, Cayey, PR 00633 809/738-4218. The project, *Towards a Gender Balanced Liberal Arts Core Curriculum*, promoted inclusion of gender studies scholarship into the entry-level mandatory liberal arts courses at the

University of Puerto Rico. The project worked with a coordinator for each of three targeted disciplines and fifteen faculty from undergraduate colleges throughout the island and included such activities as seminars, workshops, bibliographic development, and resource-sharing through Pro-Mujer's newsletter, *Tejemeneje*.

Redfern, Bernice. 1989. *Women of Color in the United States: A Guide to the Literature.* New York: Garland. Interdisciplinary and annotated, cites over 600 works arranged by racial/ethnic category.

SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women. Vol. VI, No. 1, Summer 1989. A special issue on Black Women's Studies, including symposia held to honor Johnetta Cole's assumption of the presidency of Spelman College.

Schmitz, Betty. 1992. *Core Curriculm and Cultural Pluralism.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges. An analysis of the challenges of content and pedagogy and the institutional change strategies effective in developing undergraduate core curricula. Profiles programs at the 63 colleges and universities that participated in the Association of American College's Engaging Cultural Legacies Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Schmitz, Betty. 1985. *Integrating Women's Studies into the Curriculum — A Guide and Bibliography.* New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York. A basic guide to curriculum integration, includes extensive, annotated bibliographies of background readings, course revision models, materials on project evaluation, and other resources.

Schuster, Marilyn R. and Susan R. Van Dyne. 1988. *Selected Bibliography for Integrating Research on Women's Experience in the Liberal Arts Curriculum.* 6th ed. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. Cites both recommended class readings and materials for teacher preparation.

Stoner, Lynn K. 1988. *Latinas of the Americas: A Source Book.* New York: Garland Press. Contains bibliographic references and survey essays concerning Latinas of the United States and Central and South America.

Towson State University, Institute for Teaching and Research on Women, Towson, MD 21204 310/830-2334. Founded in 1990, maintains the Clearinghouse on Curriculum Transformation. Provides resources and consulting services for public and private institutions interested in curriculum transformation.

University of Washington, Northwest Center for Research on Women, Cunningham Hall, AJ-50, Seattle, WA 98195 206/543-9531. Founded in 1980, promotes, disseminates, and supports feminist research by and about women. Sponsors programs in science and technology and on incorporating women of color into the curriculum.

Wellesley College, Center for Research on Women, 828 Washington Street, Wellesley, MA 02181 617/431-1453. Founded in 1974, conducts research and projects primarily in the following areas: equity and diversity in education; discrimination in the workplace; work/family issues; adolescents at risk; women and poverty; child care and social policy. Curriculum integration projects and resources include the Faculty Development Program; the National S.E.E.D. (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity) Project on Inclusive Curriculum; and a series of Curriculum Change Papers, which includes several classic essays on feminist pedagogy.

Women's Studies Librarian, University of Wisconsin, 112A Memorial Library, 728 State Street, Madison, WI 53706 608/263-5754. Works to incorporate women's studies into the University of Wisconsin system and to facilitate the use of library resources by women's studies scholars. Publishes bibliographies on a wide range of topics and reading lists on incorporating women of color into undergraduate core curricula. Also publishes *Women, Race, and Ethnicity: A Bibliography,* a tool for integrating information on women of color and white ethnic women into the liberal arts curriculum.

University of Wisconsin-Madison, Women's Studies Research Center, 209 North Brooks Street, Madison, WI 53715 608/263-2051. The Women of Color in the Curriculum Project enabled approximately 150 faculty from Madison and ten other University of Wisconsin system campuses to participate in course revision. The UW-System Women's Studies Librarian served as a resource person for participants, preparing bibliographies of scholarhip on ethnic minority women in various disciplines and reviews of print and nonprint materials on women of color.

Women's Studies Quarterly. 1990, Spring/Summer. *Curricular and Institutional Change.* New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York. Includes a wide range of articles on curriculum transformation, feminist pedagogy, and institutional change. Articles focus on integrating issues of gender, race, and ethnicity into traditional disciplines and the dynamics of teaching women's and ethnic studies.

Appendix H: Other Resources for Change in Higher Education

General Higher Education

American Association of Higher Education, One Dupont Circle, Suite 360, Washington, DC 20036 202/293-6440. A national organization of individuals dedicated to improving the quality of higher education by making it central to public life. Works to make its members, university faculty and administrators, more effective in higher education. Publishes *Change*, a monthly magazine on higher education; *AAHE Bulletin*; and several monographs on the roles of faculty and universities.

American Association of University Professors, 1012 14th Street, NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20005 202/737-5900. An association of college and university professors, promotes faculty involvement in academic decision-making. Publishes standards of academic freedom, tenure, and professional ethics. Investigates violations of academic freedom and conducts projects on the status of women in the profession, minority institutions, sexual harassment, and race discrimination. Also surveys faculty salaries.

American Council of Learned Societies, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 212/697-1505. A federation of fifty-one national scholarly organizations in the humanities, advances humanistic studies in all fields of learning and strengthens relations among national societies devoted to such studies. Makes awards to individual scholars and identifies present and future needs of humanistic scholarship. Publishes *Fellowships in the Humanities, 1983-1991* which maps federal funding patterns in the humanities.

American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/939-9300. An association of educational organizations, advances excellence in American educational institutions. Maintains offices on international education, government relations, women in higher education (see below), and management of higher education institutions. Publishes *Campus Trends*, an annual report with statistics describing the current state of affairs in higher education. Past surveys have included minority enrollment (see below), core required courses, and incidence of bias crimes on campuses.

American Educational Research Association, 1230 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/223-9485. Founded in 1915 as a membership organization of educators and social scientists, develops, applies, and improves educational research. Publishes *Educational Researcher*; *American Educational Research Journal*, quarterly; *Journal of Educational Statistics*, quarterly; and *Review of Educational Research*, quarterly.

Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/387-3760. Founded in 1915, is an institutional membership organization whose primary mission is improving undergraduate liberal education. Its goals are to promote liberal learning and to strengthen institutions of higher education as settings for liberal learning. Projects include *Engaging Cultural Legacies: Shaping Core Curricula in the Humanities* which provides resources to colleges and universities developing or revising undergraduate humanities core curricula. Publishes *Liberal Education*, a bi-monthly magazine.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 5 Ivy Lane, Princeton, NJ 08540 609/452-1780. Conducts policy studies and issues reports on topics related to higher education.

Council of Graduate Schools, One Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 430, Washington, DC 20036 202/223-3791. An organization of 382 U.S. and 6 Canadian institutions engaged in graduate education, fosters the improvement and advancement of graduate education by bringing members together to take action on major issues in graduate education and providing a unified voice in public and governmental affairs. Publications include *Enhancing the Minority Presence in Graduate Education*; *An Annotated Bibliography of Graduate Education, 1980-1987*; and *The CGS Communicator*, a monthly newsletter on trends in graduate education.

Higher Education Research Institute, Graduate School of Education, 320 Moore Hall, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024 310/825-1925. Serves as an interdisciplinary center for research, evaluation, information, policy studies, and research training in post-secondary education. Focuses on the outcomes of post-secondary education; academic administration and institutional management; faculty performance; federal and state policy assessment; and educational equity. Publishes *The American College Teacher*, the results of annual surveys of over 35,000 university faculty.

National Association of Graduate and Professional Students, 825 Green Bay Road, Suite 270, Wilmette, IL 60091 708/256-1562. A non-profit organization dedicated to improving the quality of graduate and professional student life in the U.S. Works to actively promote the interests and welfare of graduate and professional degree seeking students in public and private universities as well as in the public and private agencies at the local, state, and national levels. Through a national office and regional networks, acts as a clearinghouse for information on graduate and professional student groups at all stages of development.

National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/833-4000. Professional organization and union of elementary and secondary school teachers, college and university professors, administrators, prinicpals, counselors, and others concerned with education. Houses the National Council for Higher Education, the advocacy group for higher education within NEA. Publishes a *Handbook* annually; *Issues* magazine annually; *Thought & Action*, an interdisciplinary journal, semiannually; and *NEA Today*, a tabloid covering news and events affecting public education, eight times each year.

National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, DC 20418-0001 202/334-2000. Founded in 1916, is the principal operating agency of both the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. Provides services to government, the public, and the scientific and engineering communities. Publishes numerous books as well as *NewsReport*, a magazine issued six times each year.

Washington Center for Improving the Quality of Undergraduate Education, The Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA 98505 206/866-6606. An inter-institutional consortium of post-secondary schools in Washington, focuses on low-cost, high-yield approaches to educational reform. Supports and coordinates inter-institutional faculty exchanges, the development of interdisciplinary "learning community" programs, conferences, seminars, and technical assistance on effective approaches to teaching and learning.

Women in Higher Education

American Association for Higher Education, Women's Caucus, One Dupont Circle NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20036 202/293-6440. Is a network of AAHE members interested in women's issues in higher education. Develops conference sessions and professional development workshops at the AAHE National Conference on Higher Education and publishes a newsletter for members.

American Association of University Women, 1111 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/785-7712. Over 100 years old, promotes educational equity for women and girls through financial support, advocacy, and encouragement. Supports women seeking judicial remedy for sex discrimination in higher education; gives awards for institutions that advance equity; and awards teacher fellowships to public school teachers. Publishes *How Schools Shortchange Girls*; *AAUW Outlook*; *Leader in Action*, a grass-roots how-to manual for leaders; and *Action Alert*, published monthly while Congress is in session.

American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges, Middlesex Community College, 100 Training Hill Road, Middletown, CT 06457 203/344-3011. Works for equity and excellence in education and employment for women in community, junior, and technical colleges through actions, programs, activities, and services at the national, regional, state, and local levels. Publishes the *American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges Quarterly* and the *American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges Journal*.

American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education, One Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036 202/939-9390. Founded in 1977, advances women in academic administration. Works to appoint state coordinators who hold high-level administrative posts; to form state panels of men and women who influence and shape educational policy; and to identify women administrators within each state to promote their advancement. Publishes *Educational Record*, a quarterly magazine.

Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/387-1300. Founded in 1971, acts as a liaison between academic women, educational institutions, federal policymakers and women's organizations. Develops materials that identify issues and provides recommendations for overcoming barriers to equity for women in higher education; monitors federal statues and policies for possible impact on women in higher education; and provides policy analysis of issues concerning women on campus. Maintains a clearinghouse on women in academe. Publications include *On Campus with Women*; *Hispanic Women: Making Their Presence on Campus Less Tenuous*; *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*; *In Case of Sexual Harassment: A Guide for Women Students*; and *Minority Women's Organizations and Programs*.

Association of Black Women in Higher Education, 31-33 91st Street, Jackson Heights, NY 11369 212/760-7911. Preserves the history and presence of Black women in higher education through roundtable forums, a graduate-level scholarship fund, mentoring programs, research on issues in higher education, and biennial national conferences.

Black Women's Agenda, 208 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, GA 30303 404/524-8279. Founded in 1977, educates and advocates programs in the interest of Black women's equity. The Black Women's Agenda 1977 and the 1987 Black Women's Plan of Action includes recommendations on education, non-sexist curriculum and materials, support for research efforts by Black women scholars.

Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P Street, NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036 202/872-1770. Focuses on policy issues affecting the social, legal, and economic status of women. Projects dealing with education include the National Agenda for Equity in Math, Science, and Technology Education; Confronting Bias in Standardized Testing; Transforming the Curriculum; Educational Equity Policy Studies Program; and Research on Effective Education for Girls.

Educational Equity Concepts, 114 East 32nd Street, New York, NY 10016 212/725-1803. Founded in 1982, fosters equal educational opportunity through programs and materials to help eliminate sex, race, and disability bias. Offers a broad range of training and consulting services and engages in public education activities. Publishes *Bridging the Gap*, a national directory on services for women and girls with disabilities.

Higher Education Resource Services, Mid-America, University of Denver, Colorado Women's College Campus, 7150 Montview Boulevard, Denver, CO 80220 303/871-6866. Sponsors professional development activities designed to improve the status of women in higher education. Its primary activity is a summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, a month-long program offering women faculty and administrators training in educational administration.

National Association for Women in Education, 1325 18th Street, NW, Suite 210, Washington, DC 20036 202/659-9330. Formerly the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, provides educational opportunities and professional support for women through programs in professional development, scholarly research, and legislative advocacy. Research concerns include cultural diversity, disabled women, women in higher education, and women of color. Publishes *Initiatives*, the journal of the National Association for Women in Education.

National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education, National Women's Law Center, 1616 T Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/328-5160. A coalition of 50 organizations dedicated to achieving sex equity in education, members meet monthly in Washington DC to discuss methods of introducing issues such as gender equity in standardized testing and enforcement of Title IX.

National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 2335 Chatsworth Boulevard, San Diego, CA 92111 619/233-3121. Founded in 1915, encourages women to prepare for and accept administrative and executive positions in education; urges educational institutions to recognize women's administrative and executive abilities and to employ women in such positions; and works for the recognition of women's leadership abilities as a valuable national resource. Publishes *Leadership in Education Journal*, sponsors grants, and convenes annual meetings.

National Education Association, Women's Caucus, 1202 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 313/373-1800. Provides a channel through which members of the NEA can work to eliminate sexism and racism in educational issues and to effect change and equal representation in the NEA. Provides legislative alerts; promotes women into leadership positions; promotes and monitors affirmative action programs in the NEA; and develops programs for teaching awareness of sex role stereotyping. Publishes *NEA Womenspeak*, the caucus newsletter.

National Council for Research on Women, 530 Broadway at Spring Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10012 212/274-0730. Founded in 1981, is an independent association of 75 United States centers and organizations that provide resources for feminist research, policy analysis, and educational programs for women and girls. Research concerns include feminist theory, curriculum transformation, funding for women and girls, and work and family issues. Publications include *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects*; *A Directory of National Women's Organizations*; *Risk, Resiliency, and Resistance: Current Research on Adolescent Girls*; *Sexual Harassment: Research and Resources*; and *Women's Research Network News*, a quarterly newsletter.

National Council for Research on Women National Network of Women's Caucuses, 530 Broadway at Spring Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10012 212/274-0730. Formed in 1988, is a coalition of over 200 caucuses, commissions, committees, and other groups in the academic disciplines and professional associations. Advances the status of women in the professions; maps growth of feminist research and scholarship; and links feminist research to international, national, regional, and local policy issues. Sponsors a biennial meeting for members and other interested caucuses and promotes strategies for advancing women within the professions.

National Network of Minority Women in Science, 1333 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005 202/326-6682. Founded in 1978, is a communications network to address the special concerns of minority female scientists. Encourages minority females to enter and remain in scientific careers; serves as a professional association for minority women; and conducts programs and projects designed to stimulate and increase the scientific awareness of minority youth. Programs include Science Discovery Day, Science Teacher Workshop, Science Mentors, and Science Fair Awards.

National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund, Project on Equal Education Rights, 99 Hudson Street, 12th Floor, New York, NY 10013 212/925-6635. Founded in 1974, works to ensure equal educational opportunity for all women and girls through public policy analysis and advocacy at the federal and state levels; organizing committees for equity at the local level; and public information campaigns promoting equal education. Monitors Title IX; and provides information on sex-equity litigation, teacher/advocate resources, and pregnant/parenting teen rights.

United Federation of Teachers, Women's Rights Committee, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010 212/598-6879. Provides curriculum information on teaching women's history to the UFT and develops a newsletter on women's issues. Organizes the annual Women's History Month.

Women Educators, P.O. Box 7841, Department of Public Instruction, 125 South Webster, Madison, WI 53707 608/267-9157. Promotes equality of opportunity at all levels for women in the American Education Research Association and in the field of education research. Sponsors annual awards in educational activism, research, and curriculum; disseminates a *Sex Equity Handbook for Schools* and a *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education*. Meets annually at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association.

Women's College Coalition, 1725 K Street, NW, Suite 750, Washington, DC 20006 202/789-7556. An association of 85 women's colleges, provides support for, sponsors, and conducts research on the education of women, and acts as a clearinghouse of information on women's colleges. Has a research program for gender equity in education and produces reports on the student body of women's colleges. Publishes *The Women's College Coalition Quarterly*, a research-based newsletter.

Minorities in Higher Education

American Council on Education, Office of Minorities in Higher Education, One Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20036 202/939-9395. Established in 1981, monitors the progress of African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in postsecondary education and engages in efforts to improve their educational and employment opportunities in higher education. Publishes *Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity*; the annual *Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education*; and *Resource Guide to Minorities in Higher Education*, a national guide on minority-related resources and contacts. Also sponsors *Educating One-Third of A Nation Conference*, a national conference to help institutions promote campus diversity and the *Minority National Identification Project*, a project to increase the number of minorities in academic administrative positions.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 513 Capitol Court, N.E., Suite 100, Washington, DC 20002 202/544-9289. Founded in 1972, is a consortium of over 28 tribally controlled community colleges dedicated to facilitating access to resources needed for their development. Promotes methods for the training of administrators and teachers in higher education institutions consistent with the inherent rights of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Publishes *Tribal College*, a journal focussing on American Indian postsecondary education from the perspective of American Indian leaders. Also maintains the American Indian College Fund to raise private sector money to support tribal colleges.

Center for Indian Education, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287 602/965-6292. Established in 1959, promotes research in the field of American Indian and Alaska Native education and provides various services to Indian communities that contribute to tribal capacity building. Publishes the *Journal of American Indian Education* and other literature on American Indian education; sponsors conferences that bring together scholars and tribal community members; and fosters relations between the University and sovereign tribes.

Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington, College of Education, Miller Hall DQ-12, Seattle, WA 98195 206/543-6636. Focuses on research projects and activities designed to improve practices related to equity issues, intergroup relations, and the achievement of students of color. Offers the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*; research related to race, ethnicity and education; workshops for practicing educators; occasional papers and bibliographies; and courses in multiethnic education.

Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs, Tulane University, Center for Latin American Studies, New Orleans, LA 70118. Formed in 1968, is an institutional affiliate of the Latin American Studies Association. Promotes Latin American Studies and acts on matters of interest to institutional members. Publishes a variety of materials relevant to the teaching of Latin American Studies.

Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 4204 Gardendale, Suite 216, San Antonio, TX 78229 512/692-0823. A national organization representing Hispanic-serving institutions of higher education, works to improve access to the quality of postsecondary educational opportu-

nities for Hispanic students. Maintains the Hispanic Student Success Program, focusing on college preparation and Hispanic educational participation; provides information on Hispanics in higher education; and conducts workshops with a Hispanic focus on issues such as financial aid and student services.

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, Black Higher Education Center, Lovejoy Building, 400 12th Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 202/543-9111. Founded in 1969, is an association of historically black colleges and universities dedicated to articulating the need for quality education for all minorities. Works to provide a unified voice for historically black colleges and universities and to increase the participation of Blacks in the leadership of educational organizations. Maintains a clearing house of information on black colleges, advocates on national policy issues facing blacks in higher education, and sponsors the annual National Conference on Blacks in Higher Education.

National Indian Education Association, 1819 H Street, NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20006 202/835-3001. Founded in 1970, helps American Indian and Alaskan Native students keep traditional tribal values while learning to be productive citizens in a technological world. Provides national educational conferences, governmental advocacy on Indian educational needs, and technical assistance and resources to American Indian educators. Publishes the *NIEA Newsletter*, a quarterly newsletter.

Native American Studies Center, Institute for Native American Development, University of New Mexico, 1812 Los Lomas Drive, N.E., Albuquerque, NM 87131 506/277-3917. Established in 1971, serves the higher education needs of the Southwest Native American population and promotes research on Native Americans and tribal community development. Maintains, among many programs, the Information and Materials Development Collection, a clearinghouse on Native American education, college programs, and tribal public policy, and the Native American Academic Intervention and Retention Project, a program for Native American student retention.

United Negro College Fund, Inc., 500 East 62nd Street, New York, NY 10021 212/326-1100. Founded in 1944, is a consortium of 41 private, historically black colleges and universities. Raises funds and provides services in support of its member institutions.

United States Student Association, Recruitment and Retention of People of Color in Higher Education, 815 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005 202/347-8772. With the National People of Color Student Coalition, works to provide resources to students fighting for the access of students of color to postsecondary educational opportunities. Provides materials, networking, and skills training to make education accessible and curriculum relevant to all students.

Women's Studies

Rather than including all women's studies programs, women's caucuses, and women's research centers, the resources below provide a representative sample of and access to additional women's studies networks, institutions, and resources. (See Appendix F for a roster of Council member centers and Appendix G for selected curriculum resources.)

African Studies Association, Women's Caucus, Credit Union Building, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322 404/329-6410. Promotes participation of women and attention to women's issues in African studies. Brings women from Africa to attend African Studies Association conferences; organizes panels; and exchanges news about research and funding about women's studies in Africa. Publishes the *Women's Caucus Newsletter* and meets annually at the meeting of the African Studies Association.

American Sociological Association Committee on the Status of Women and the Sex and Gender Section, 1722 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/833-3410. The Committee on the Status of Women monitors the participation of women in the profession and in the American Sociological Assocation (ASA), as well the impact of feminist work in sociology. Publishes monthly newsletter and curriculum materials. The Sex and Gender Section is the second largest ASA specialty group. Brings together faculty researchers, practitioners, writers, students, and activists interested in the study of gender relations, publishes a directory of its 1,000 members by areas of expertise, awards annual dissertation prize, organizes sessions at annual ASA conference, and publishes newsletter.

Association of Asian Studies, Committee on Women in Asian Studies, c/o Sucheta Mazumdar, State University of New York at Albany, Department of History, Albany, NY 12222 518/442-4800. Brings together members of the Association of Asian Studies who are concerned with women's issues within the AAS and are involved in gender research. Holds meetings in conjunction with the national AAS meeting and publishes the *Committee on Women in Asian Studies Newsletter*.

Association of College Research Libraries, Women's Studies Section, American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, IL 60611 800/545-2433. Discusses, sets standards for,

and promotes women's studies collections and services in academic and research libraries.

Chicana/Latina Research Project, c/o Chicana Studies, Hart Hall, University of California-Davis, Davis, CA 95616 916/752-8882. A group of Chicana/Latina and Native American women on the UC-Davis campus who conduct research and teach courses on Chicana/Latina and Native American women's writing, history, issues and concerns. Encourages and fosters the voices of Chicana/Latina and native American women through research, analyses, creative works. Contributes to the documentation of the realities of these communities of women.

Coalition for Western Women's History, c/o Katharine Morrisey, University of Arizona, Department of History, Tuscon, AZ 85721 602/621-5486. Promotes the writing and publicizing of multicultural women's history in the American West. Includes academics, K-12, and community people; publishes the *Coalition for Western Women's History* newsletter; and provides networking.

Conference Group on Women's History/Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession, c/o Barbara Winslow, 124 Park Place, Brooklyn, NY 11217-3303 718/638-3227. A professional organization for women historians. Encourages the recruitment and promotion of women historians, opposes discrimination, and promotes the development of research and teaching in women's history.

Cross-Cultural Black Women's Studies Summer Institute, 1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, NY 11225 718/270-5051. Sponsors annual summer institutes around the world to provide opportunities for women of diverse cultures to exchange information, share experiences, and identify resources. Supports and empowers groups of women in struggles for self-determination and autonomy. Publishes the annual *Cross-Cultural Black Women's Newsletter.*

Directory of Women's Studies Programs & Library Resources, The Oryx Press, 2214 North Central, Phoenix, AZ 85004-1483. Edited by Beth Stafford, Women's Studies & Women in Development Librarian at the University of Illinois. Lists information on individuals, programs, and collections pertaining to women's studies. Indexes list institution name, types of degrees offered, discipline orientation of courses offered, and subject strengths of library collections.

Feministas Unidas, c/o Stacey Schlau, West Chester University, Department of Foreign Languages, West Chester, PA 19383 215/436-2700. An allied organization of the Modern Language Association, is a coalition of feminists in Spanish American, Luso-Brazilian, Afro-Latin American, and United States Hispanic Studies. Holds planning sessions at the annual meetings of the MLA and is currently working on a collection of course syllabi. Publishes *Feministas Unidas* three times a year.

Feminist Bookstores News, P.O. Box 882554, San Francisco, CA 94188 415/626-1556. Trade magazine published six times a year; lists new book announcements and news of interest to booksellers, publishers, librarians, and book reviewers. Maintains a list of 400 feminist bookstores for sale.

The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 311 East 94th Street, New York, NY 10128 212/360-5790. Founded in 1970, a nonprofit feminist, educational publisher that publishes fiction, autobiography and biography, essays, and other nonfiction aimed at restoring the lost history and culture of women to a contemporary audience and providing books and educational materials needed for changing the teaching of literature, history, and social sciences. Current series include cross-cultural memoir series, peace series, and international publications. Also publishes *Women's Studies Quarterly*, a journal devoted to teaching about women.

Feminist Studies, University of Maryland, Women's Studies Program, College Park, MD 20742. Publishes critical, scholarly and speculative essays and studies in all areas of feminist inquiry.

Latin American Studies Association, Task Force on Women, c/o Rena Benmayor, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, Box 548, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021 212/772-5689. Identifies major academic issues dealing with women in Latin American Studies and networks with Latin American Studies women's programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. Organizes panels at LASA Congresses. Offers publications on women and the curriculum.

Feminist Teacher, Indiana University, 442 Ballantine, Bloomington, IN 47405 812/855-5597. Published three times a year by a collective for traditional and nontraditional teachers, preschool through graduate school, articles focus on the dynamics of feminist pedagogy.

Modern Language Association (MLA) Division of Women's Studies in Language and Literature and the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, Division of Research, 10 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003 212/475-9500. With more than 4,500 members interested in women's studies, the Division of Women's Studies in Language and Literature is one of the five largest interest area divisions in MLA. An advocate for women's interests in the modern languages, the Committee on the Status of Women gathers, reviews and interprets information on the status of women in the profession.

Mujeres Actiovas en Letras y Cambio Social, c/o Margarita Melville, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 97420 415/642-0240. An organization of Chicanas working in community settings and in academia towards the support and dissemination of Chicana issues. Promotes public policy research on Chicana and Latina issues and provides mutual support to women graduate students and faculty in higher education. Publishes a quarterly newsletter, *Noticias de MALCS*; sponsors a summer institute; and supports the Chicana public policy research center.

National Association for Chicano Studies, Chicana Caucus, c/o Irene I. Blea, University of New Mexico, Hispanic Student Services, 1153 Mesa Vista Hall, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Monitors women's participation in NACS by ensuring that women present research at annual meetings and participate in NACS public forum. Ensures that NACS incorporates into its policies a Chicana feminist perspective.

National Council for Research on Women, 530 Broadway at Spring Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10012-0730 212/274-0730. An independent association of 75 centers and organizations that provide resources for feminist research, policy analysis, and educational programs for women and girls. Promotes and supports feminist research and women's studies through the work of the centers, the Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies Program, the quarterly *Women's Research Network News*, reports like *Sexual Harassment: Research and Resources*, *Risk, Resiliency, and Resistance: Current Research on Adolescent Girls*, and *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects*. The Directory Series includes *A Directory of National Women's Organizations*, *A Directory of Work-in-Progress and Recently-Published Resources*, *Opportunities for Research and Study*, and *International Centers for Research on Women*.

National Women's Studies Association, University of Maryland at College Park, 3311 East Art/Sociology Building, College Park, MD 20742 301/405-5573. Is the largest existing network of women's studies professionals and women's studies programs. *NWSA's 1990 Directory of Women's Studies Programs, Women's Centers, and Women's Research Centers* lists 621 women's studies programs. Promotes feminist education through the classroom, research, public policy and community-based women's advocacy groups. Publishes *NWSAction*, and *NWSA Journal*, a quarterly scholarly journal. Sponsors scholarships, awards, and annual conferences.

Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women, P.O. Box 42741, Atlanta, GA 42741 404/223-7528. Biannual, interdisciplinary journal on Black women for educators, policymakers, researchers, and social and professional organizations.

SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, University of Minnesota, Center for Advanced Feminist Studies, 496 Ford Hall, Minneapolis, MN 55455 612/624-6310. Quarterly interdisciplinary feminist journal highlighting the new scholarship on women.

Sociologists for Women in Society, SWS Communications Center, Department of Sociology, Creighton University, Omaha, NE 68178-0117 402/280-2635. An international organization of more than 1,000 social scientists, faculty, undergraduate and graduate students, practitioners, and independent scholars who share a dedication to the social equality of women. Publishes *Gender & Society*, a quarterly journal of scholarship and *Network News*, a newsletter; supports discrimination cases brought by feminist sociologists; works on such issues as pay equity and workfare; mentors women entering the profession; provides scholarship for women of color doing graduate work in sociology.

Women's Caucus for the Modern Languages, *Concerns*, c/o Joan Hartman, Editor, Department of English, Office A-324, College of Staten Island, 715 Ocean Terrace, Staten Island, NY 10301 718/390-7779 or 212/642-2344. Founded in 1970, the Women's Caucus for the Modern Languages is an allied organization of the Modern Language Association. Promotes the interests of women within the MLA in professional advancement, scholarship, pedagogy, and related research. Publishes *Concerns* journal, sponsors panels and programs at MLA conventions, provides scholarship fund for un/underemployed women in modern language, including graduate students, and sponsors the Florence Howe Award for essays in feminist literary scholarship.

Women's Studies Librarian, University of Wisconsin, 112A Memorial Library, 728 State Street, Madison, WI 53706 608/263-5754. Works to incorporate women's studies into the University of Wisconsin system and to facilitate the use of library resources by women's studies scholars. Publishes *Feminist Collections*, a quarterly newsletter; *Feminist Periodicals: A Current Listing of Contents*, a quarterly reproduction of table of contents pages for over 80 major feminist periodicals; and *New Books on Women and Feminism*, semi-annual, subject-arranged, indexed bibliography of new books and periodicals in women's studies. Also publishes bibliographies on a wide range of topics and reading lists on incorporating women of color into undergraduate core curricula, including *Women, Race, and Ethnicity: A Bibliography*, a tool for integrating information on women of color and white ethnic women into the liberal arts curriculum.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Women's Review of Books, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181-8259 617/431-1453. In-depth reviews of current books by and/or about women published monthly except August.

Ethnic Studies

African Studies Association, Emory University, Credit Union Building, Atlanta, GA 30322 404/329-6410. Founded in 1957, brings together people with scholarly and professional interest in Africa. Promotes African Studies by providing useful services to the Africanist community and by sponsoring an annual meeting. Publishes *African Studies Review*, a multidisciplinary, scholarly journal; *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, a multidisciplinary magazine on current policies in and about Africa; and *ASA News*, a quarterly newsletter.

Asian/American Center, Queens College of The City University of New York, 163-03 Horace Harding Expressway, Flushing, NY 11365 718/997-3050. Founded in 1987, is dedicated to the development of community-oriented research to analyze the multicultural Diaspora experience of Asians in North, Central, and South America, and the Caribbean. Emphasizes interdisciplinary cultural studies. Publishes working papers including *Asians in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Bibliography* and *Caribbean Asians: Chinese, Indian, and Japanese Experiences in Trinidad and the Dominican Republic.* Maintains a clearinghouse of research on Asians in the Americas; a series of monographs on Asians in New York City; and a translation service for non-English speaking Asians.

Association for Asian American Studies, c/o Elaine H. Kim, President, University of California at Berkeley, Asian American Studies Program, 3407 Dwinelle Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720 510/642-6555 or Shawn Wong, Treasurer, University of Washington, Department of American Ethnic Studies, GN-80, Seattle, WA 98195. Formed in 1979, advances standards of excellence in teaching and research of Asian American Studies and promotes better understanding and closer ties among groups within the Asian American community. Works to educate American society about the history and aspirations of Asian American ethnic minorities through a quarterly *Newsletter*, annual meetings, Occasional Papers, and an annual anthology.

Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, Inc., 1407 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005 202/667-2822. Organized in 1915 as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, promotes appreciation of the life and history of Black people and encourages an understanding of present status. Sponsors the study of Black history through schools, colleges, churches, homes, fraternal groups, and clubs. Originated and sets the theme for National Afro-American History month and publishes *Journal of Negro History* and *Negro History Bulletin* on a quarterly schedule. Collects historical manuscripts and materials relating to Black people and serves as a clearinghouse for research on Black history and culture.

Association of African Studies Programs, c/o Thomas A. Hale, The Pennsylvania State University, Department of French, 316 Burrowes Building, University Park, PA 16802 814/238-0997. Provides a forum of information and a means of action on areas of common concern to programs of African Studies facilitates African Studies in the United States. Encourages the growth and support of African Studies programs. Serves as a clearinghouse of information useful to African Studies programs and provides a means for sharing information among programs. Publishes the *AASP Newsletter* and organizes panels at the African Studies Association annual meeting.

Association of Caribbean Studies, P.O. Box 22202, Lexington, KY 40522 606/257-6966. Founded in 1978, encourages research on Caribbean politics, history, linguistics, trade, psychology, music, anthropology, sociology, folk culture, religion, art, literature, and economics. Maintains a speakers' bureau; compiles statistics; bestows awards; and conducts periodic conferences and seminars. Publishes a *Newsletter* and the *Journal of Caribbean Studies* three times each year. Also publishes *Hot Ice, Songs from a New World* and monographs. Produces audiocassettes and audiovisual materials.

Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California at Los Angeles, 160 Haines Hall, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024 310/825-7403. Established in 1969, develops academic and research programs in Afro-American Studies. Provides specialized library and informational services to the community; designs research programs to expand the knowledge of African American cultural systems and to investigate problems bearing on the well-being of African American people. Publishes the *Afro-American Culture and Society* monograph series; Occasional Papers; the *Community Classics* series; and the *Minority Economic Development* series.

Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College of the City University of New York, 695 Park Avenue, East 1401, New York, NY 10021 212/772-5689. Promotes disciplined inquiry into matters of significance to Puerto Ricans. Maintains a library open to researchers and the public with holdings relating to the Puerto Rican experience. Task forces on history and migration, language and education,

cultural studies, and higher education. Publish monographs including *Sources for the Study of Puerto Rican Migration, 1879-1930; Stories to Live By: Continuity and Change in Three Generations of Puerto Rican Women*; and *Education and Imperialism.*

Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America, University of Colorado at Boulder, Ketchum 30, Campus Box 339, Boulder, CO 80309 303/492-8852. Established in 1987, promotes interdisciplinary teaching and research in Afro-American, American Indian, Asian American, and Chicano Studies, and in cross-cultural and comparative race and ethnic studies. Sponsors colloquia, conducts ethnic studies courses, and publishes books and articles on topics in ethnic studies.

Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024 310/825-2363. Founded in 1969, develops and articulates a Chicano/Latino intellectual perspective that recognizes and fosters the creative and professional potential of the Chicano/Latino population. Current projects focus on the growing Latino population in California; social networks in Latino households; and AIDS in the Latino community. Publications include *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*; a *Monograph Series*; and an *Anthology Series.*

Inter-University Program for Latino Research, Hunter College of The City University of New York, Centro de Estudios Puertorrique§os, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021 212/772-5674. Founded in 1982 as a consortium of eight Latino research centers, initiates and supports research critical to the Hispanic community that will influence public policy. Promotes comparative, interdisciplinary, and cross-regional research on the major Latino groups and establishes working relationships among scholars whose research focuses on Latino issues.

Latin American Studies Association, University of Pittsburgh, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 412/648-7929. Fosters the concerns of scholars interested in Latin American Studies and encourages effective training, teaching, and research in Latin American Studies. Publishes the *Latin American Research Review*, a scholarly journal of Latin American Studies; the *LASA Forum*, a quarterly newsletter; and various monographs on current Latin American political situations.

National Asian American Conference, c/o Tom Gushiken, Recreation Management, 131 Wittich Hall, University of Wisconsin, Lacrosse, WI 54601 608/785-8208. Funded by a grant from the University of Wisconsin system, an academic conference with panelists from universities nationwide.

National Association for Chicano Studies, University of Texas at San Antonio, 6900 North Loop, 1604 West, San Antonio, TX 78249 512/691-4370. Founded in 1972, is dedicated to social and political change through the promotion of Chicano studies. Publishes proceedings of NACS conferences and publishes *Noticias De NACS*, a quarterly newsletter. Awards the annual NACS scholar award to a person who has significantly contributed to Chicano/a Studies.

National Association for Ethnic Studies, Arizona State University, Department of English, Tempe, AS 85287 602/965-2197. Promotes activities and scholarship in the field of ethnic studies. Supports research, study, and curriculum design for its members through *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity and ethnic groups; *Explorations in Sights and Sounds*, an annual book-review supplement to the journal; and *The Ethnic Reporter*, the association's newsletter. Also sponsors an Annual Conference in Ethnic Studies.

National Council for Black Studies, Inc., The Ohio State University, 1030 Lincoln Tower, 1800 Cannon Drive, Columbus, OH 43210 614/292-1035. Founded in 1975, works to establish standards of excellence and provide development guidance for university Black Studies programs; to facilitate the recruitment of black scholars; to promote scholarly Afrocentric research; and to increase informational resources available to the public on the African World Experience. Publishes *Voices in Black Studies*, a quarterly newsletter, and *Africanology*, a scholarly journal.

Puerto Rican Studies Association, Department of Puerto Rican Studies, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, 2900 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11210 718/951-5561. Founded in 1992, a diverse academic professional association dedicated to the pursuit of research and knowledge with an emphasis on community involvement and empowerment. Disseminates new research and material in the field by means of regular conferences. Plans to establish an international network of scholars as well as links with local school systems.

Educational Activist Groups

African American Women in Defense of Ourselves, c/o Elsa Barkley Brown, 317 South Division, Suite 199, Ann Arbor, MI 48104 (voice mail in Chicago) 312/918-2702. Provides information on activities of African American women in response to the sexist/racist treatment of Anita Hill during the 1991 Senate Judiciary hearings. Is currently developing a national network with local and regional meetings to address issues concerning the sexist/racist treatment of African American women.

Consortium of Social Science Associations, 1522 K Street NW, Suite 836, Washington, DC 20005 202/842-3525. Represents more than 185,000 U.S. researchers in the social and behaviorial sciences, functioning as a bridge between the research community and the Washington policy community. In addition to its annual analysis of federal budget proposals for social and behaviorial science research, COSSA publishes the biweekly *COSSA Washington Update* newsletter, which reports on appropriation and authorization legislation for research programs in federal agencies, federal science policy, research agency advisory board appointees, and the policies and practices of federal research agencies.

District of Columbia Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, P.O. Box 18291, Washington, DC 20036 202/483-4593. A multiracial and anti-racist youth coalition, works to fight racism and gain respect for different cultures. Maintains a Resource Center that includes a video library, literature, and access to speakers who conduct anti-racism training. Publishes *SCAR News* and other educational materials with youth perspectives; and promotes campus organizing efforts.

Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 617/492-1764. Founded in 1982 by educators concerned primarily about the danger of nuclear war, promotes education for social responsibility. Organizes workshops for teachers and students on peer mediation and conflict resolution. Focuses on creative conflict resolution, multicultural education, and preservation of the environment.

The National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest, 1801 18th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/234-0041. A nonprofit education and advocacy organization, provides consultation on university "whistleblower" cases, academic union negotiations, and corporate-military-campus connections. Monitors trends in higher education, provides direct organizing support to education activists, and coordinates Education for the People, a student-based organization focusing on issues of higher education as they affect students.

National Cultural Alliance, 1225 I Street, NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20005 202/289-8286. Founded in 1990, a coalition of 41 national arts and humanities organizations representing broad cultural interests in the U.S. Fosters understanding of the arts and humanities among all segments of the American public and provides access to new resources via a print, radio, and television advertising campaign. Also administers a long-term public relations campaign about the importance and availability of the arts and humanities.

National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce, Campus Project, 1734 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/332-6483. Founded in 1973, works to end prejudice, discrimination, and violence based on sexual orientation through grassroots organizing, public education, and direct action. Campus Project helps lesbian and gay students, faculty, staff, and alumni fight for equality at colleges and universities. Publishes the *Organizing for Equality Newsletter*, dealing with issues such as AIDS organizing on campus, gay and lesbian film and video resources, organizing for anti-discrimination policy, organizing against violence and harassment, and promoting lesbian, gay, and bisexual studies.

National Humanities Alliance, 1577 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/328-2121. A coalition of 75 humanities associations and libraries that promotes the common interests of its members with regard to national policy, programs, and legislation affecting the National Endowment for the Humanities and other agencies related to the humanities. Provides members with timely information and represents members in actions aimed at influencing national policies, programs, and legislation.

OPENMIND, The Association for the Achievement of Cultural Diversity in Higher Education, Alex King, Department of Materials Science and Engineering, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-2275 516/632-8499. OPENMIND seeks to increase the presence and influence of culturally diverse researchers and educators in colleges, professional schools, and universities and to challenge and broaden the canons of knowledge, scholarship, and pedagogy. OPENMIND publishes a newsletter and holds annual meetings.

Political Research Associates, 678 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 702, Cambridge, MA 02139 617/661-9313. Collects and disseminates information on U.S. right-wing political groups and trends. Holds a collection of over one hundred right-wing publications and maintains files on individuals, groups, and topics of interest to those researching the right wing. Serves as an "early warning" system for those who need to know about emerging trends on the political right. Tracks debates about multiculturalism in right-wing political groups.

Rethinking Schools, 1001 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212 414/964-9646. Publishes a quarterly newspaper focusing on public school reform from an anti-racist, anti-sexist, multicultural perspective. Recent publications include *Rethinking Columbus* and *False Choices*.

Teachers for a Democratic Culture, P.O. Box 6405, Evanston, IL 60204 312/743-3662. Founded in 1991, TDC's main goal is to "provide a fair and accurate representation of developments at our nation's colleges and universities, especially in response to misleading charges about 'political correctness'." Sponsors national meetings and works for balanced representation on the board of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Union of Democratic Intellectuals, c/o Stanley Aronowitz, The City University of New York Graduate School and University Center, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036 212/642-2428. Founded in 1991, is dedicated to fighting the "conservative counterattack" in American culture by "establishing a public, educational, critical, and radical presence on issues vital to cultural politics, academic, and public life."

United States Student Association, 815 15th Street, NW, Suite 838, Washington, DC 20005 202/347-8772. Founded in 1947, represents student voices on Capitol Hill, the White House, and Department of Education. Advocates for student interests by tracking and lobbying on federal legislation and policy and working in coalition with education and social justice organizations.

Student Journalism

Associate Collegiate Press, University of Minnesota, 620 Rarit Center, 330 21st Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455 612/625-8335. A nonprofit journalism education group for college and high school publications offering a critique service for campus newspapers. Sponsors journalism conventions and local and national workshops and publishes *Trends in College Media*, a quarterly newsmagazine that tracks current political trends in campus publications.

Campus Journals Network, Center for National Policy, 317 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002 202/546-9300. Founded in 1988 by the Center for National Policy, helps new liberal student newspapers with grants of $1,000 to $2,500 each. Provides concerned students on campuses across the country with the support they need to start and maintain high-quality political journals on their campuses. Sponsors a network newsletter, article exchange, advertising assistance, and annual conferences. Also offers two-day journalism workshops in the summer.

National Student News Service, P.O. Box 3161, Boston, MA 02101 617/292-4823. Provides campus coverage on community and political issues every ten days during the academic year.

Student Press Law Center, 1735 Eye Street, Suite 504, Washington, DC 20006 202/466-5242. Established in 1974, combats suppression of student expression and provides free legal assistance for student journalists and their advisors. Offers free telephone advice; referrals to local experts on student press law; evaluation of existing publications; and studies in legal trends in student press law. Publishes *Law of the Student Press*, a student journalist manual.

Campus Violence

The Anti-Defamation League, 23 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 212/490-2525. A human rights agency that works to combat bigotry and prejudice against all people, maintains a Campus Affairs/Higher Education Department that tracks campus prejudice and bigotry. Publishes *Combatting Bigotry on Campus* and other information about hate crimes in the United States.

Campus Violence Prevention Center, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland 21204 410/830-2178. Facilitates the communication and discussion of issues related to campus violence, as well as the sharing of effective strategies for dealing with campus violence by conducting an Annual National Conference on Campus Violence and publishing a semi-annual newsletter, *Safehouse*. Also publishes *Responding to Violence on Campus*, a sourcebook of selected papers from the national conferences. Gathers information and conducts surveys on the causes and prevention of campus violence.

Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P Street, NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036. Focuses on policy issues affecting the social, legal, and economic status of women. Offers publications on campus sexual harassment and acquaintance rape including *"Friends" Raping Friends: Could It Happen to You?*; *Campus Gang Rape: Party Games?*; *In Case of Sexual Harassment...A Guide for Women Students*; and *Peer Harassment: Hassles for Women on Campus*. Also publishes over 100 papers originally issued by the Association of American Colleges, including the first nationally distributed papers on sexual harassment in academe.

National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce, Anti-Violence Project, 1734 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/332-6483. Founded in 1973, works to end prejudice, discrimination, and violence based on sexual orientation through grassroots organizing, public education, and direct action. The Project conducts original research on the pervasiveness of "gay bashing" and victimization, provides training and resources, and helps pass federal, state, and local hate crime laws. Publications include *Dealing with Violence: A Guide for Lesbian and Gay People*, *Gay Violence and Victimization*, an

annual report of anti-gay incidents; and *Information on Documenting Violence.*

National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, 31 South Greene Street, Baltimore, MD 21201 410/328-5170. A national center dedicated exclusively to the study of, and response to, ethnoviolence. Programs include collecting, analyzing, publishing, and disseminating materials to the public, news media and civil rights groups; researching the causes of ethnoviolence and its effects on victims and communities; and conducting human relations training, seminars, and conferences. Publishes *Campus Ethnoviolence and the Policy Options.*

National Organization for Victim Assistance, 1757 Park Road, NW, Washington, DC 20010 202/232-6682. Founded in 1975, works for the recognition and implementation of victims' rights. Provides advocacy on violent crimes, including racist and sexist campus violence. Publishes a monograph series on topics such as acquaintance rape, racially-motivated hate violence, and gay and lesbian victims.

The Safe School Coalition, Inc., 5351 Gulf Drive, P.O. Box 1338, Holmes Beach, FL 34218 813/778-6651. Fosters networks among diverse national organizations to encourage programs that result in safe colleges and universities. Organizes the annual International Conference on Sexual Assault on Campus and sponsors joint meetings on reducing ethnic conflict in higher education.

Santa Monica Hospital, Rape Treatment Center, 1250 16th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90404 310/319-4000. Since 1988, in response to a sharp increase in clients from universities, produces material aimed at reducing stranger and acqauaintance rape on college campuses. Publishes *Sexual Assault on Campus: What Colleges Can Do*, a policy manual for universities and produces *Campus Rape*, a film designed for first-year student orientation.

Security on Campus, Inc., 618 Shoemaker Road, Gulph Mills, PA 19406 215/768-9330. Founded in 1987 by Howard and Constance Cleary, parents of a Lehigh University student raped and murdered in her dormitory, works for passage of federal legislation on violent campus crimes, including the 1990 Student Right to Know Act. Also monitors national crime statistics and advocates for inclusion of violent campus crimes.

Students Together Against Acquaintance Rape, c/o Susan Valleri, Office of Health Education, Student Health Services, Box 745, HUP, Philadelphia, PA 19104 215/662-7126. A student-run peer-education group, conducts workshops at colleges and universities. Compiles information on date-rape, develops models for rape policies, and makes recommendations for safe campus climates for women.

Campus Diversity Projects

The Anti-Defamation League, 23 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 212/490-2525. A human rights agency that works to combat bigotry and prejudice against all people, has put together educational materials and a workshop on *Combating Bigotry on Campus* as part of a larger ADL program *A World of Difference.* Combining lectures and videos with introspective, self-examination exercises, *A World of Difference* works to eliminate cultural stereotypes and affirm the value of diversity. Also offers educational materials and guides.

Facing History and Ourselves, 25 Kennard Road, Brookline, MA 02146 617/232-1595. Established in 1976, uses instruction in the history of the Nazi Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide to teach students about hatred, prejudice, racism, and indifference. Publishes *Holocaust and Human Behavior*, a resource book of materials for incorporating the Facing History program into a school or class; *Choosing to Participate*, a study of citizenship in American democracy; and an annotated bibliography of works for adults and children on the Holocaust and on twentieth-century genocide in Armenia and Cambodia.

The Ford Foundation, 320 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017 212/573-5000. Since 1990, conducts a *Race Relations and Campus Diversity* Program. Awards grants to universities to revise courses to include multicultural topics and to conduct workshops on ethnic and cultural diversity. Also awards grants to consortia of institutions to share expertise on developing diversity programs.

The Lilly Endowment, 2801 North Meridian Street, P.O. Box 88068, Indianapolis, IA 46208 317/924-5471. Awards grants through its *Campus Climate Program* to colleges and universities in the Midwest. Supports curriculum revision, student leadership training to promote campus pluralism, and interdisciplinary programs for first year students on race, gender, and ethnicity.

People for the American Way, 200 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 202/467-4999. People for the American Way's Campus Intolerance Project has three goals: to encourage the development of effective anti-discrimination programs on campuses; to improve programs where they already exist; and to help colleges and universities avoid spending scarce funds on re-inventing programs and materials that have been proven successful elsewhere. The project provides direct assistance to universities; disseminates a 1991 report, *Hate in the Ivory Tower*; develops materials to heighten public awareness; and is working toward encouraging Congressional hearings on campus intolerance.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN . . .

DIRECTORY SERIES: helping you gain access to women's resource networks

A Directory of National Women's Organizations
Contains indexed descriptions of 477 diverse U.S. organizations devoted to women's issues. Appendices include women's PACs, women's funds, state commissions, and federal offices. Compiled by Paulette Tulloch. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 686 pages. Price: $44. ISBN# 1-880547-08-2.

Opportunities for Research and Study, 1993-94
A descriptive list of the fellowships, affiliated scholar programs, grants, and internships sponsored by Council member centers. Includes sources of information on financial aid. A resource for graduate students, academic advisors, scholars, independent researchers, women's centers, and research institutes. Compiled by Paulette Tulloch and Debra Schultz. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 26 pages. $10. ISBN# 1-880547-06-6.

A Directory of Work-in-Progress and Recent Publications
The Council's online database in print. Includes indexed abstracts of over 1,000 research projects, books, articles, and programs underway or recently completed. Citations list over $28 million in grants and fellowships. Debra L. Schultz, Project Director. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth and Tina Kraskow. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 320 pages. Price: $34. ISBN# 1-880547-09-0.

International Centers for Research on Women
Lists over 155 research and documentation centers in 66 countries. Also includes the Council's 75 U.S. member centers. Compiled by Mariam Chamberlain. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 42 pages. $12. ISBN# 1-880547-00-7.

A Directory of Women's Media, 16th Edition
Originally published by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. Includes brief descriptions of over 1,300 print and electronic media, publishers, bookstores, libraries, distributors, and other media resources by, for, and about women. Compiled by Dawn Henry. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 285 pages. Price: $34. ISBN# 1-880547-07-4.

A Women's Mailing List Directory
Describes mailing lists maintained by U.S. women's research centers and caucuses; feminist periodicals, publishers, and bookstores; and women's policy and activist organizations, programs, centers, and networks. Includes information on selling and exchanging lists, available formats, and methods of compiling and maintaining lists. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1990. 160 pages. $15. ISBN# 1-880547-03-1.

Who's Where and Doing What
Premiere edition of the Council's annual directory of individual affiliates and member center researchers and staff. This multi-indexed directory highlights areas of expertise and provides current contact information. Compiled by Paulette Tulloch. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1993. Price: $8 (free to Council Affiliates). ISBN# 1-880547-15-5. Available Fall 1993.

The NCRW Common Catalog
The premiere edition of The Council's annual multi-indexed directory of NCRW member centers, member center projects, and selected center publications. Compiled by Dawn Henry. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1993. Price: $10. ISBN# 1-880547-14-7. Available Fall 1993.

WOMEN IN RESEARCH: keeping you informed about processes and progress

A Women's Thesaurus: An Index of Language Used to Describe and Locate Information By and About Women
An indispensable language list for writing, indexing, filing, cataloguing, and database searching. Over 5,000 terms that describe research, programs, and policies affecting women's lives in eleven subject groups including: economics and employment; education; history and social change; international issues; law, government, and public policy; science and technology; and social science and culture. Terms are organized alphabetically, with cross references to broader terms, narrower terms, related terms and synonyms. Cited by *Library Journal* as one of fifteen best reference books in 1987. Mary Ellen S. Capek, Editor. New York: Harper & Row, 1987. 1,052 pages. List price $37.50 hardcover, $16.95 paper. Special offer from NCRW: hardcover edition only $24; paperback edition: $15. ISBN# 0-06-181171-8.

Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects
A four-year study by a task force of fifteen leading scholars and educators, the report examines women's progress in higher education over the last two decades. Providing a comprehensive overview of the status and prospects of women as students, faculty members, and administrators during the 1990s and beyond, the book traces the increasing presence of minority and re-entry women students and the movement of women into non-traditional careers; the growth and institutionalization of women's studies programs, campus women's centers, and research institutes; the role of women's colleges; and the effects of legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in education. Mariam Chamberlain, Editor. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1989. 415 pages. Paperback: $18. Hardcover available from The Russell Sage Foundation, 212/750-6037: $29.95. ISBN# 0-87154-218-8.

Prices include domestic postage and handling (call for international postage rates). To order, call (212) 274-0730.

***REPORTS**: providing overviews of key issues in women's research*

Sexual Harassment: Research and Resources

The expanded report of the National Council for Research on Women's Sexual Harassment Information Project. Launched immediately following the Senate Judiciary Hearings on Clarence Thomas in October, 1991, the report summarizes the wealth of research and resources on sexual harassment, including current legal and scholarly definitions of sexual harassment, the extent of the problem, typical behavior of the harassed, myths about the harassers, anti-harassment policy and procedures, and efforts needed to bring about significant change. Written by Deborah L. Siegel. Edited by Susan A. Hallgarth and Mary Ellen S. Capek. New York, National Council for Research on Women, 1992. 68 pages. $11 for individual copies. Quantity discounts available. ISBN#1-880547-10-4.

Risk, Resiliency, and Resistance: Current Research on Adolescent Girls

Commissioned by the National Girls Initiative of the Ms. Foundation for Women, this research overview highlights four topic areas: female adolescent development; debates in the research on girls'self-esteem; research specific to girls of color, lesbian girls, and girls with disabilities; and images of girls in the media and popular culture. An appendix lists model programs and key researchers. By Debra L. Schultz. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1991. 33 pages. $9. ISBN# 1-880547-01-5.

Transforming the Knowledge Base

A lively panel discussion from the first meeting of the National Network of Women's Caucuses that synthesizes several key issues in feminist theory (essentialism versus social construction, equality versus difference, and the relation of postmodernism to these debates). Panelists Dorothy O. Helly, chair (History), Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich (Philosophy), Sandra Coyner (Women's Studies), Leslie Hill-Davidson (Political Science), and Betty Schmitz (Curriculum Integration) discuss the impact of these debates on the disciplines, curricula, and educational institutions. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1990. 28 pages. $5. Quantity discounts available for classroom use. ISBN# 1-880547-04-X.

Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies

An overview of the Council's Ford Foundation-sponsored mainstreaming projects at 13 Council member centers and affiliates, with introductionary essays by NCRW Project Director Mariam Chamberlain and Project Coordinator Liza Fiol-Matta. Curriculum Transformation Project directors describe a variety of approaches that include involvingminority scholars and racial-ethnic studies programs in planning and implementation of transformed curricula. New theoretical understandings of diversity, innovative pedagogy, and alternative approaches to learning inform this work. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1991. 32 pages. $6. ISBN# 1-880547-02-3.

A Declining Federal Commitment to Research About Women, 1980-1984

A Report from the Commission on New Funding Priorities. Prepared by Mary Rubin. August, 1985. 47 pages. $5. ISBN# 1-880547-05-8.

***NEWS RESOURCES**: keeping you on the cutting edge of women's research*

Women's Research Network News (WRNN)

The Council's quarterly newsletter, includes News from the Council; News from Member Centers; News from International Centers; News from the Caucuses; Publications and Resources; Upcoming Events; Job Opportunities; Opportunities for Research, Study, and Affiliation; as well as other news of interest to the women's research, action, policy, and funding communities. Individual subscription, $35; organizational subscription, $100. All *WRNN* subscribers are enrolled as Council Affiliates and receive 20% discounts on Council publications.

Issues Quarterly (IQ)

The first publication to cull, synthesize, and highlight current research on important issues affecting women and girls, *IQ* exposes the facts that often get lost in mainstream media coverage. News Bulletins, Status Reports, Legislative Updates, and Book Reviews are among the many features in this exciting new resource. Individual subscription, $35 (*WRNN* subscribers can receive *IQ* for an additional $15); organizational subscription, $100 (includes both *IQ* and *WRNN*). All *IQ* subscribers are enrolled as Council Affiliates and receive 20% discounts on Council publications.

Prices include domestic postage and handling (call for international postage rates). To order, call (212) 274-0730.

To Reclaim a Legacy of Diversity: Analyzing The "Political Correctness" Debates In Higher Education documents both the facts and media distortions that have shaped almost a decade of campus debates on affirmative action, multicultural and feminist curriculum reform, and programs to diversify college campuses.

Did you know...

- media coverage gave the impression of extensive "p.c." incidents across the country, but no more than 4% of the nation's higher education institutions reported controversies?
- conservative think tanks played a hidden and financially powerful role in orchestrating the debate?
- campus incidents against women, gays, and minorities are on the rise but go largely unreported by the media?
- a dramatic governmental "chill" froze funding for the humanities, women's studies, ethnic studies, and curriculum transformation projects?

To Reclaim A Legacy of Diversity highlights the conditions that gave rise to an unrivaled backlash in academia. It will be invaluable to the media and public policy analysts as well as educators and those interested in higher education in this country.

What else is inside...

- a chronology of media coverage
- information on conservative student campus newspapers networks
- statistics on National Endowment for the Humanities funding
- documentation of financial pipelines from conservative foundations
- statistics on women and people of color on campuses
- resources for transforming curricula